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Repertory and Rivalry:

Opera at the Second Covent Garden Theatre, 1830 to 1856

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Abstract

Victorian London has hitherto frequently been regarded as an operatic backwater without original musical or theatrical talent, and has accordingly been considered only marginally important to the history of 19th-century opera in general. This study seeks to assert London's importance as an operatic centre during the mid-19th century by establishing the history of the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, later the Royal Italian Opera, as one of the three major theatres at which opera was staged, as well as the details of opera production. The operatic repertory of Covent Garden consisted to a large extent of adaptations and translations of foreign works, and it is the lack of understanding of this concept to which many of the misconceptions concerning the London opera industry owe their origin.

Owing to the scarcity of adequate secondary research tools and the conversely vast number of largely untapped primary sources, the structure of this thesis necessarily crosses the boundaries of strictly musicological research into theatre history. It establishes for the first time the details of operatic and theatrical management at Covent Garden from 1830 to 1856 by focusing on the management and finance, the artistic policy of individual managers (in particular with regard to opera), the repertory structure, and the details of individual opera productions. In particular this investigation has concentrated on the establishment and analysis of a repertory calendar, an examination of the finances and organisation of the theatre through mainly legal and financial documents, and a comprehensive study of libretti and musical sources for opera productions at Covent Garden.

This project for the first time provides a detailed and systematic analysis of opera production in mid-19th century London. It has

furthermore resulted in a study of Covent Garden within the cultural context of London in the first half of the 19th century, a subject corresponding with other major research work currently being undertaken on the opera houses in Paris and Italy.

Contents

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Introduction

It has been a frequently held view that 19th-century London was an operatic backwater without original musical or theatrical talent, and consequently of only marginal importance to the history of 19th-century opera in general. Few major composers were connected with London's opera houses and theatres, as these relied principally on importing operas from Continental theatres, rather than commissioning new works. With the emphasis of the repertory thus placed firmly on adapted as opposed to original operas, few musicologists have examined either the institutions or the repertory itself. Until recently, little was therefore known about the managerial, financial or artistic structure of London's operatic institutions and an assessment of their true importance within the development of 19th-century opera and its institutions was accordingly not possible. Moreover, many primary sources, some unknown, others forgotten, had not been examined and their value to scholars working on England's musical culture as well as 19th-century opera has accordingly remained unrecognised.

This study seeks to assert London's significance as an operatic centre during the mid-19th century by establishing both the history of the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, later the Royal Italian Opera, as one of the three major theatres at which opera was staged, as well as the details of opera production. One of the most powerful influences on the financial and artistic management of Covent Garden, and one which resulted in the complete reorganisation of London's theatrical scene, was the competition which emerged between the London theatres in the 1830s. The two patent theatres, Covent Garden and Drury Lane, were compelled to relinquish their monopoly on presenting a vast variety of different theatrical genres, thus ending the century-old traditions of the playhouse. The King's Theatre, later Her Majesty's, by contrast was deposed as London's

traditional Italian opera house by a new institution which favoured a much broader repertory and emphasised London's links with France. My thesis charts the rivalry which ultimately led to the collapse of the playhouse at Covent Garden in 1843, and its transformation into London's leading opera house. It furthermore examines the development of competitive programming strategies in which opera, both foreign and English, frequently played a pivotal role. Throughout these upheavals, London's opera managers sought to satisfy their audiences by programming works which they hoped would improve their financial status and artistic reputation. This only sporadically led to commissions for English opera composers. Instead, managers were keen to present recent works by foreign composers - frequently an artistically more satisfying and financially more advantageous approach.

Any examination of the history of opera in 19th-century London is at present hampered by the lack of adequate secondary research tools. Without an equivalent of the Biographical Dictionary or The London Stage which are available for the study of 18th-century opera and operatic institutions, scholars are forced to compile such data afresh.[1] Only two large-scale studies of Covent Garden, both outdated, are available: the chiefly anecdotal account by Henry Saxe Wyndham, The Annals of Covent Garden Theatre from 1732 to 1897, and Harold Rosenthal's Two Centuries of Opera at Covent Garden which, while impressive in its encyclopedic scope, is limited in its detail and accuracy.[2] London's 18th-century opera house has for some time been the focus of extended research, Curtis Price, Judith Milhous and Robert D.Hume's Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London being the latest and most comprehensive of such studies.[3] By contrast, musicologists and historians have only recently begun to work on London's 19th-century operatic institutions. William Donald Hoskins was

the first to attempt a repertory survey of the three major London theatres between 1800 and 1815; Rachel Cowgill's forthcoming thesis focuses on the reception of Mozart's operas in London during the late 18th and early 19th centuries and includes an analysis of the financial and artistic organisation of the King's Theatre; Jennifer Lee Hall has provided a valuable study of the audiences which attended Her Majesty's and the Royal Italian Opera between 1830 and 1860; Matthew Ringel's thesis presents the most detailed examination to date of opera management in mid- to late 19th-century London.[4]

While adequate research tools are scarce, the number of largely untapped primary sources is immense. These range from account books, legal documents, parliamentary papers and managers' diaries to libretti and music manuscripts prepared for performances at Covent Garden. Many of these documents are held in the British Library and other theatre collections. Two archives, however, deserve a separate mention here as they have been little used by scholars and house much material hitherto unknown. The Archives of the Royal Opera House preserve, amongst other valuable sources, much of the musical and literary material used for productions at the opera house from circa 1847 onwards. Since this collection is only partly catalogued, an accurate assessment of its content is complicated. Yet the apparent inaccessibility has also helped to preserve much of the original material. In the archives of Coutts & Co are preserved the ledgers recording the majority of financial transactions for the Royal Italian Opera from 1850 to 1878; these banking records were used extensively by Matthew Ringel in his recent thesis, but have otherwise not been utilised by musicologists.

The two most important new sources to have come to light as a result of my research, are firstly, the diaries of Frederick Gye (manager of the

Royal Italian Opera, 1849-78) and secondly a number of previously unknown autograph scores by Giacomo Meyerbeer. Gye's diaries, now housed in the Archives of the Royal Opera House, provide an exceptional insight into opera management and production in general, and the management of the Royal Italian Opera in particular; their discovery was first publicised and their content examined in my joint article with Matthew Ringel, 'Frederick Gye and "The Dreadful Business of Opera Management"' in 19th-Century Music. I have discussed Meyerbeer's autographs, preserved among the music to Les Huguenots, L'étoile du nord and Dinorah (Le pardon de Ploërmel) at the Archives of the Royal Opera House, more fully in my paper entitled 'Meyerbeer in London c.1850' (British Musicology Conference, 20 April 1996).

The immense quantity and quality of primary material and the lack of reliable secondary sources has prompted a structure for this thesis which necessarily crosses the boundaries of strictly musicological research into theatre history. It establishes, in many cases for the first time, the details of operatic and theatrical management at Covent Garden during the early to mid-nineteenth century by focusing on the management and finance of the theatre from circa 1830 to 1856, the artistic policy of individual managers, in particular with regard to opera, the repertory structure, and the details of individual opera productions. The starting date of 1830 has been chosen for this study, as it marks the final years of Charles Kemble's management, starting with the 1829/30 to the end of the 1831/32 season. An earlier date of 1820 has been adopted for the discussion of English opera in chapter five, as many of the English works performed at the playhouse were revivals of operas written during the 1820s. Kemble's last years at Covent Garden brought a drastic decline in the theatre's financial fortunes and signalled the end of a long line of theatrical managers who had held the

theatre for ten years or more. The 1830s and early 1840s saw the management of the theatre change almost biannually and in 1843 the playhouse effectively ceased to exist. The establishment of the Royal Italian Opera at Covent Garden in 1847, and more particularly the advent of Frederick Gye as manager in 1848, was to bring relative financial stability to London's opera house for the first time in almost a century. The destruction of the theatre by fire in 1856 marks the closing point of this investigation. The financial and artistic implications of the fire and the rebuilding of the theatre between 1856 and 1858 form the starting point of Matthew Ringel's thesis.[6]

Given the extensive scope of my study, it has not been possible to discuss all aspects in equal depth and some have had to be omitted entirely. Most importantly, the analyses of the drama repertory at the playhouse and of ballet in general have been confined to those issues which relate most immediately to the artistic strategies as a whole and to those concerning the opera repertory in particular. A detailed examination of the visual presentation of operas, a significant aspect of contemporary opera and one which held especial audience appeal, has had to be limited to its effect on the financial management. An investigation into or reconstruction of sets, costumes and other related performance details for specific productions would have unacceptably prolonged this thesis and might more appropriately be considered in a separate study.

The structure of my thesis and the methodology I adopted for individual chapters has been determined firstly by the disparate quality and quantity of sources available for the playhouse and the opera house at Covent Garden which has induced a greater emphasis on the Royal Italian Opera over the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden; and secondly by the extensive breadth of period and variety of topics I have endeavoured to

cover which made the organisation of the three parts and six chapters according to specific subject areas preferable to a strictly chronological narrative. Due to the evident institutional differences, it was also necessary to consider the playhouse and opera house separately in all but the last chapter.

Part one provides a detailed analysis of the financial management of the playhouse and the opera house under their numerous managers and lessees, and investigates how the increasing competition between London's theatres affected the financial viability of these specific two companies. Chapter one focuses on the playhouse at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, 1830 to 1846. It examines the gradual erosion of the theatre's financial base, caused by a combination of spiralling competition and outdated institutional structures, as well as the growing public impatience with the theatre's pecuniary crisis and simultaneous demands for its lessees to relinquish their monopoly on specific repertories. Given the uneven spread of financial and legal documents for the various tenures, it has not been possible to assemble a consistently detailed account of the financial state of the company throughout this period. Instead, I have endeavoured to present as complete an assessment of the pecuniary requirements of the playhouse company through a comparison of the available data. Chapter two centres on the Royal Italian Opera, 1847 to 1856. It reviews the motivation for and financial implications of establishing this second Italian opera house, examines the changing managerial structures of the new venture and investigates the effects of the rivalry with Her Majesty's on the company's finances. Owing to the unusually rich primary sources - most notably Frederick Gye's diaries, the Coutts ledgers as well as the legal documents preserved for several major court cases - this chapter provides a much more detailed analysis of these issues than

was possible for the playhouse.

Part two considers the artistic management and repertory of the playhouse and the opera house at Covent Garden. Chapter three explores the impact which the contemporary debate over the lack of encouragement for native dramatic and literary talent had on the repertory of the playhouse. Opera, though only one of many genres presented at the playhouse, formed an important part of this controversy, as managers' promotion of opera over drama and of foreign over English opera was regarded as indication of their commitment or lack thereof to that particular public debate. The artistic policies which influenced the repertory of the opera house, and especially the effects of competition on programming, form the core of chapter four. Due to Gye's innovative approach to opera management, as well as the uncommonly informative sources, the main emphasis of this chapter is on Gye and his attempts to succeed over Her Majesty's. The changes Gye wrought on the repertory and company structure were to become the hallmark of the Royal Italian Opera for the remainder of the 19th century and were instrumental in establishing this as London's principal Italian opera company.

Part three provides a more detailed survey of English and foreign operas as well as the working procedures involved in presenting them at Covent Garden. Many of the operas investigated in chapters five and six have not previously been the subject of any detailed musicological research. It would, however, have been impossible to present an all-inclusive discussion of these works within the confines of this thesis. These chapters should therefore be considered only as the first step towards a more comprehensive analysis of operatic traditions in early to mid-19th century London. Chapter five examines English operas produced at the playhouse between circa 1820 and 1845. A review of contemporary

opinions on English operas introduces a discussion of the topics and story lines, as well as the dramatic and musical structures employed in contemporary works. Chapter six focuses on foreign opera adaptations staged at both the playhouse and the opera house. It firstly considers the artistic and financial appeal of foreign opera to both audiences and managers. The principal purpose of this chapter, however, is to establish the working procedures as well as the artistic and practical considerations involved in preparing foreign operas for the London stage. A greater awareness of the processes of translation and adaptation will, it is hoped, result in a better understanding of London's operatic traditions.

As contemporary usage of titles for both opera and playhouse productions was frequently inconsistent, I have adopted a number of guidelines for their citation in this thesis. Most documents concerning the playhouse referred to the English translation of the original title and I have generally used these, while giving the original in parenthesis where it differs substantially. For the Royal Italian Opera, on the other hand, playbills and other advertisements employed the Italian translation and original titles of French and German operas indiscriminately, while contemporary libretti and scores tended to use the Italian translations; in his diaries, Frederick Gye referred to operas with their original title. I have normally cited the original title, while the Italian translation is given in parenthesis. In all translations, whether for the opera or playhouse, I have adopted the contemporary capitalisation and spelling. In referring to the original titles for both opera and playhouse productions, I have standardised the French, Italian, German and English in accordance with The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians and The New Grove Dictionary of Opera.[6]

Quotations from contemporary sources are normally reproduced as written, without any changes to punctuation, spelling, capitalisation or methods of emphasis, although I have inserted some additional punctuation to facilitate their understanding. Abbreviations, as regularly used by Gye, have only been written out in full where they would otherwise hamper comprehension. Original deletions have normally been omitted and the most obvious typographical errors have been corrected.

The music examples have been reproduced as written or published, though minor discrepancies in contemporary sources regarding text underlay have been amended.

NOTES

[1]A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800, ed. Philip H.Highfill, Kalman A.Burnim and Edward A.Langhans, 16 vols (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973-93); The London Stage, 1660-1800, Part 5: 1776-1800, 3 vols, ed. Charles Beecher Hogan (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1968).

[2]H.Saxe Wyndham, The Annals of Covent Garden Theatre from 1732 to 1897, 2 vols (London: Chatto & Windus, 1906); H.Rosenthal, Two Centuries of Opera at Covent Garden (London: Putnam, 1958). Rosenthal's subsequent study, Opera at Covent Garden: A Short History (London: Victor Gollancz, 1967) is an abridged version of the earlier work.

[3]C.Price, J.Milhous and R.D.Hume, Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London, i:The King's Theatre Haymarket, 1778-1791 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995). A second volume on the Pantheon Opera, 1790-1795, is forthcoming.

[4]W.D.Hoskins, The Major Theatres of London c.1800-1815: including a survey of operatic and other musico-dramatic works, 4 vols (PhD. dissertation, University of Wales, Cardiff, 1990); R.Cowgill, The Reception of Mozart's Music in London, 1764-1829 (PhD dissertation, University of London, King's College, forthcoming); J.L.Hall, The Re-fashioning of Fashionable Society: Opera-going and Sociability in Britain, 1821-1861 (PhD dissertation, Yale University, May 1996); M.L.Ringel, Opera in the Donizettian Dark Ages: Management, Competition and Artistic Policy in London, 1861-70 (PhD dissertation, University of London, King's College, 1996). Two valuable studies have examined musical criticism in 19th century London: Leanne Langley, The English Musical Journal in the Early Nineteenth Century (PhD dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1983) and Theodor Fenner, Opera in London: Views of the Press, 1785-1830 (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994).

[5]London's opera and playhouses operated under differing season systems. The playhouse season usually lasted for nine months, from the first week of October to the end of June or the beginning of July, while that of the opera house generally ran for five months, from the end of March to mid-August.

[6]The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols (London: Macmillan, 1980); The New Grove Dictionary of Opera, ed. Stanley Sadie, 4 vols (London: Macmillan, 1992).

Part One

Competition and Financial Management

Theatrical management in London, and opera management in particular, has often appeared to be inextricably linked with unprofitability, financial disarray and general mismanagement. At first glance, both the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden and the Royal Italian Opera seem to confirm this prejudice. Bankruptcies, ferocious company disputes, and managerial ineptitude were regular occurrences during the second quarter of the 19th century. A startlingly rapid succession of failed tenures, and the immense scale of the losses incurred by the majority of the managers and lessees, however, suggest a more complex set of problems.

During this period competition emerged as one of the most forceful influences on the financial and artistic management of London's theatres. Its impact on Covent Garden was especially momentous and long-lasting: rivalry led not only to the collapse of the playhouse at Covent Garden in 1843, but also to the creation of a second opera house for London. The inherent financial problems and a detailed analysis of their cause are at the centre of part one, chapters one and two. The first chapter examines the effects of competition on the financial and managerial structures of the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, and ventures an explanation for the dissolution of the playhouse in 1843. The second chapter documents the establishment of the theatre's successor, the Royal Italian Opera, as London's premier Italian opera house under Frederick Gye. It examines the gradual evolution of relative financial and managerial stability which rescued the opera house from a fate similarly disastrous to that of the playhouse and thus secured its long-term survival.

One of the fundamental problems of London theatres throughout the 18th and 19th centuries was the lack of either Royal or government

funding. Unlike many of their Continental counterparts, theatrical managers in England, whether at the playhouses or the opera house, relied solely on private capital and commercial success in the running of their enterprises. The Royal patents under which both the Theatres Royal, Covent Garden and Drury Lane operated brought with them no guarantee of subsidies and had not been designed to instate either as a court theatre. Rather, the patents, granted by Charles II to Sir William Davenant and Thomas Killigrew in 1662/3 and 1662 respectively, secured Covent Garden and Drury Lane a monopoly over all theatrical entertainments and effectively restricted the number of legally operated theatres in London.[1] These were the only companies allowed to perform spoken drama, opera, and other musical and dramatic pieces. The 1737 Licensing Act further restricted the performance of all English language productions to Covent Garden and Drury Lane.[2] During the course of the 18th century a number of other theatres, most notably the King's Theatre and the Theatre Royal Haymarket, were nevertheless to receive annual licences for opera and spoken drama.[3] Covent Garden and Drury Lane, however, remained the only theatres permitted to perform year-round with an unlimited repertory, which was subject only to the Lord Chamberlain's censorship. The patents were accordingly one of the most highly valued assets of both companies - an asset that was to become almost worthless with the introduction of the 'Act for Regulating Theatres' in 1843.

Chapter One

The Theatre Royal, Covent Garden

The decline of the playhouse at Covent Garden was one of the most heatedly discussed issues amongst the contemporary theatrical community. Inseparable from the debate regarding the abolition of the patent theatres' monopoly on the so-called legitimate drama, it was a topic which drew impassioned responses from almost anyone connected with or interested in London's theatres.[4] A diffuse range of partisan pamphlets and autobiographies were published in an attempt to explain the precarious financial state of the patent theatres. A Parliamentary Select Committee, established in 1832 to assess the status of dramatic literature, dealt at length with the matter. Surprisingly, however, modern scholars have only fleetingly concerned themselves with the cause of the theatre's disintegration. Moreover, no attempt has been made to analyse the financial or managerial organisation in any detail.[5]

1) Monopoly versus Competition

In 1832 a Parliamentary Select Committee was set up to report 'into the Laws affecting Dramatic Literature'. The inquiry, headed by the novelist and MP Edward Bulwer-Lytton, was to examine the reasons behind the evident decline in quantity and quality of stage plays, as well as the apparent waning of public interest in theatrical productions. In particular they were to concentrate on the 'uncertain administration' of the licensing of theatres for specific genres, the regulations regarding both the number and distribution of theatres, and the inadequate support rendered to dramatic authors.[6] Although its original purpose had been to investigate the legal and public encouragement of plays and playwrights, the inquiry soon turned its main focus on the issue of the patent theatres, their

monopoly on the legitimate drama and their apparent failure to function as viable institutions.[7] In the months and years preceding the 1832 Select Committee, a petition arguing for the abolition of the monopoly and several court cases concerning the licensing of new theatres had brought these matters to the forefront of the public debate.[8] The vigorous attacks on the patent theatres focused on their apparently inadequate support for native drama and their wretched financial position, neither of which could justify the continuance of the protection afforded by the patents. Closely related to the status of dramatic literature, the monopoly soon became an intensely debated issue during the hearings of the 1832 Select Committee.

In essence two arguments were propounded by two fiercely opposed factions. The patent, or so-called major theatres came out clearly in defence of their monopoly and pinpointed the rise of the minor theatres as the single most important cause of their financial difficulties. In their opinion the significant increase in theatres licensed annually or bi-annually for the presentation of melodramas and burlettas not only constituted a violation of the patents, but more importantly posed a direct threat to receipts and attendance levels at the major theatres. The minor theatres on the other hand maintained that the structure of the patent theatres had exacerbated the effects of competition and argued for an expanded monopoly to include their own theatres. In their view the patent theatres were inherently unsuited for the presentation of spoken drama due to their being simply oversized and badly managed. Furthermore, they had forfeited any claims for special legal protection by failing to fulfil their original purpose, namely to foster native dramatic talent; instead the legitimate drama had been neglected in favour of spectacle, opera and other light entertainment. At the same time, a more secure legal footing for the minor theatres was imperative if financial and artistic stability was to

be achieved. Thus, while the financial misery of the patent theatres was a fact acknowledged by both parties, the cause and consequences were hotly disputed.

2) Financial Management: Expenditure

By the time the 1832 Select Committee started questioning witnesses in June 1832, Kemble's management of Covent Garden had already collapsed under a huge burden of debt - as if to confirm Kemble's own gloomy prediction of the patent theatres' 'utter ruin', should the minor theatres be allowed to continue operating unencumbered. By 1832 Kemble and his co-lessees had accumulated a staggering deficit estimated at circa £260,000.[9] These liabilities included an 'old debt' of between £60,000 and £70,000, originating in the construction of the theatre in 1809 and inherited by the new lessees from the former manager Henry Harris; a 'new debt' of circa £22,500 accumulated since 1822 through the non-payment of the theatre's running costs; a subscription totalling £76,000 raised from 1822 onwards amongst 152 subscribers and still outstanding in 1832; and the investment of circa £30,000 by the lessees on which they had not received any interest or repayment.[10]

Although the scale of Kemble's losses far exceeded those of later lessees, many of the factors which finally led to the collapse of his tenure were remarkably similar. Two problems in particular stand out: firstly the high level of expenditure, comprised principally of salaries; and secondly the extremely low level of receipts as compared with the first quarter of the 19th century.[11]

In his statement before the 1832 Select Committee one of Kemble's co-lessees, Captain Forbes, estimated the minimum annual running costs of Covent Garden at above £50,000.[12] Few comparable figures for total

expenditure exist as these were rarely published and most account books appear to have been lost. Bankruptcy proceedings against Elizabeth Vestris and her husband Charles Mathews reveal that Covent Garden was run at an annual cost of between £51,000 and £55,000 during their three-year tenure in 1839-42.[13] Furthermore, the considerable reductions enforced by both Bunn and Osbaldiston in 1833-35 and 1835-37 respectively which brought total running costs down to under £30,000, suggest previous and subsequent tenures had incurred far greater expenses.[14] More consistent and forceful proof of the considerable expense involved in operating a theatre as large as Covent Garden, however, comes from an analysis of the details of this expenditure, as disclosed in account books, bankruptcy records, the 1832 Select Committee report and contemporary autobiographies, letters and legal documents.

This evidence suggests that well over 50% of the expenditure was accrued through personnel costs. Bound up inextricably with the repertory structure, this figure was an apparently unassailable constant. Covent Garden consisted in effect of three or four companies, tragedy, comedy, opera and ballet, each of which required separate troupes.[15] Together, these made up a total of circa 80 to 90 artists, to which a significant number of frequently unspecified supernumeraries must be added. The number of such additional actors, dancers and singers varied considerably and could range from just a handful to a startling 57 'Soldiers of the Female Army' in the ballet Revolt of the Harem (1834), 127 extras for the 1842 production of Semiramide, or 70 additional chorus singers for Norma during the 1841/42 season.[16] Almost certainly not all of these were employed full-time at Covent Garden, but were hired for individual productions.[17] While the exact number of permanently employed artists in each department is difficult to assess, the figures set out in Table 1. might act as guidelines.

Table 1.[18]

Lessee	Actors	Singers	Dancers	Chorus	Extras	Total
Kemble 1830/31	43	8			37	88
Laporte 1832/33	51	17	8			76
Bunn 1833/34[19]	46	13	12[20]	36		107
Bunn, Drury Lane 1835/36[21]	51	7	28	27		113
Osbaldiston 1835/36[22]	60	9	3		20	92
Macready 1837/38	41	9			53	103
Vestris 1839/40	46	6			57	109[23]
Vestris 1840/41	40	5	2	8[24]	23	78
Vestris 1841/42	41	6	2		36	85
Wallack 1843	44	2	22 (12 women, 10 men)	21 (10 women, 11 men)		89

Covent Garden also employed its own chorus master, director of music and orchestra of circa 40 players.[25] The size of the orchestra probably varied, depending on the importance of opera within the repertory as a whole, as well as the requirements of individual works. In 1840, a season during which only four operas were performed, the orchestra included 32 musicians. Some productions of French, German as well as Italian operas on the other hand appear to have necessitated the engagement of extra musicians, as playbills for Gustavus (1833), Fidelio (1835) and La donna del lago (1843) indicate.[26] Furthermore, substantial numbers of scene shifters and carpenters, as well as three to four scene painters, costume designers, a ballet master, prompter, stage manager,

machinist, and other administrative and technical staff were engaged. In total Covent Garden thus permanently employed an estimated 1,000 people during the 1820s to early 1840s, a figure which could be increased up to 2,000 during the labour-intensive Pantomime seasons.[27] The minor theatres, by contrast, were able to operate with much smaller companies as they presented a far more limited repertory. The Coburg Theatre, for example, one of the largest minor theatres, employed circa 500 artists and other personnel, while the Surrey Theatre employed a total of around 400.[28] Not surprisingly, Covent Garden has been accused of overstaffing.[29] Without compromising the diversity of the repertoire, however, no significant reduction in the number of employees could be achieved. Attempts in this direction were made by Bunn, Osbaldiston, Macready and Vestris, though, as will be discussed below, with little success.

The cost of employing such a vast company was immense. During the pantomime season of 1831 the lessees of Covent Garden expended £786 on actors and singers and £385 on supernumeraries per week; these figures excluded all weekly expenses for carpenters, scene-shifters, painters and other backstage personnel.[30] Forbes estimated average weekly salaries 'besides tradesmen, taxes, rent, and remuneration to authors' at between £1,100 and £1,300. Based on a typical season of 30 to 35 weeks, salaries at Covent Garden might thus be calculated, on a conservative estimate, at no less than £30,000 or 60% of the total expenditure during the early 1830s. Excepting the tenures of Bunn in 1833-35 and Osbaldiston in 1835-37, little information exists as to the labour costs of subsequent lessees.[31] Salaries of individual artists are, however, known for a number of years. These not only provide valuable details on salary levels, but also suggest that overall expenditure on salaries probably remained well above the 50% mark.

Some indication as to salary structures can be gleaned from an annotated company list compiled for Bunn's 1835/36 season at Drury Lane. Despite an apparent reduction, salaries for the entire 1835/36 Drury Lane season still amounted to circa £25,000 or just under 45% of Bunn's overall expenditure, given as £59,183 during the course of bankruptcy proceedings in 1839.[32] Bunn, known for his tight hold on pay levels, expended £712 weekly on salaries for actors, singers, dancers, chorus, orchestra and his main artistic and administrative staff; of this more than 70% (£518) resulted directly from money paid out to actors, singers and dancers. At the lowest end of the salary scale, the majority of chorus members were paid £2, while low-ranking actors and dancers received between £1 10s and £3 per week; principal dancers, such as Miss Ballin and Augusta Giubilei earned between £4 and £5. Most actors' and singers' salaries were well below £10 per week, yet stars such as Macready, Ellen Tree or Templeton (Malibran's stage partner) could earn significantly more, between £20 and £30. The orchestra was paid a weekly total of £80; assuming a maximum of 40 players, this suggests that most musicians earned £2 or less per week. Thomas Simpson Cooke, Bunn's director of music, and James Planché, the house librettist, were paid £12 and £10 respectively. Comparison of these salaries with others known to have been paid to artists employed at varying times at Covent Garden confirm that salaries there were somewhat higher. Macready, for example, was paid £40 per week at Covent Garden in 1836/37 against £30 in 1835/36; Helen Faucit received £15 in 1837/38 against £8 in 1835/36; Phillips, one of the most acclaimed singers at Covent Garden, earned £35 a week in 1837/38 against £30 in 1835/36; and Henry Bishop, possibly only on a temporary contract, was paid a total of £74 over a four week period in 1830.[33]

In addition to salaries, lessees had to find sufficient funds for a host

of other expenses, including the rent due to the proprietors for use of the theatre.[34] After the collapse of their own tenure, during which the rent had been set at £10,050, Kemble and his co-proprietors boldly charged Laporte £11,000 annual rent on his seven-year lease. Laporte testified before the 1832 Select Committee that he might 'perhaps' have been willing to pay even more had he been allowed to perform opera in Italian at Covent Garden.[35] The increasing difficulty of finding new lessees, however, led to a gradual reduction of this charge over subsequent years. Bunn still paid £8,685 in 1833-35; Osbaldiston and Macready managed to negotiate a rent of £7,000; and Vestris, though officially charged £7,500, succeeded in securing an unofficial rent of effectively £5,000 per year.[36] Despite the apparent willingness of the proprietors to adjust the rent to a more reasonable level, rent arrears were a continuous source of disagreement, and it is on this point that they might most appropriately be accused of refusing 'to face economic realities'.[37] Although most lessees gave up the management of the theatre as a result of severe losses, the unrelenting and inflexible demands for rent frequently tipped the balance against a continuance of the tenure. Bunn furiously battled to achieve a reduction of £1,500 for the 1835/36 season, failed and finally gave up; the unwillingness of the proprietors to cede any ground similarly caused his resignation in 1842.[38] Notwithstanding the special arrangement for a reduced rent, Vestris not only fell behind in her payments, but was also accosted by the proprietors for the full rent.[39] Kemble himself, on his brief return to management in 1842, did not retire due to 'the constant strain and anxiety of personally superintending the affair', as has been argued, but was instead unceremoniously dismissed by the other proprietors due to his failure to keep up regular rent payments.[40]

By far the most tortuous and bitter conflict over rent arrears was

fought between the proprietors and Macready in 1839. The problem concerned not so much the sums due to the proprietors, for these were by no means excessive.[41] Rather, the enforced termination of Macready's tenure was the result of inflexibility and poor organisation. Instead of dealing directly with the proprietors Macready had to rely on the theatre's 'Joint Treasurer of the Proprietors and Mr Macready', Henry Robertson, to communicate between them.[42] In times of relative prosperity this arrangement caused no great concern to the lessee. Once negotiations started over the repayment of rent arrears, however, Robertson gave up his position as mediator and swiftly turned into an uncompromising representative of the proprietors. Macready's exasperation with this system was already evident in January 1839: '[Robertson] justified the proprietors, which he always does, and certainly ought not to be in a double office. He cannot serve two masters'.[43] It is unclear whether Robertson's position had been the same under previous lessees, although his unyielding and business-like approach to his dealings with Macready certainly suggests that he had considerable experience in such matters.[44] It was at any rate an unfortunate arrangement which, possibly intentionally, left little room for compromise and prevented any direct contact between lessee and proprietors. By April the proprietors had instructed Robertson to collect the rent in regular instalments despite Macready's orders to the contrary.[45] All Macready's suggestions for alternative methods of payment, some of them admittedly rather unrealistic, had been refused and by May 1839, while these negotiations were still officially under way, Vestris had already been chosen as the new lessee.

The huge expenditure which lessees of the playhouse had to contend with was recognised even by their own employees as one of the major

stumbling blocks to financial success. Asked by the 1832 Select Committee whether 'the expense of producing a drama in the magnificence of the two great theatres ... almost precludes any profit to the proprietors', George Bartley, stage manager and actor at Covent Garden replied: 'Yes, I should think it is; in short, it is very difficult indeed to produce profit to the proprietors'.[46] According to Forbes, the costs of producing a new play or opera varied between £200 and £2,000.[47] This figure presumably included expenses for sets, costumes, the preparation of production material such as scores and singers' and actors' parts, as well as the cost of extra carpenters and other backstage personnel necessary for the production of spectacles and pantomimes. These expenses could occasionally spell disaster, as in the case of Macready's ill-financed 1838 Christmas pantomime. To contain them required stringent and potentially unpopular changes to the repertory, such as a reduction in the number of new productions, the reuse of old scenery and costumes, or the staging of less expensive small-scale plays and operas.[48]

Salaries, however, were the principal burden on the theatre's finances and it was this outlay which most obviously suggested itself for cost cutting measures. Even though the inherent conflict with artists and audiences must have acted as a significant deterrent, most managers were forced by dire financial necessity to tackle this problem. Two options presented themselves, neither of which would be particularly popular: a cutback in the company size or a curtailment of salary levels. Both were tried, and both ultimately failed.[49]

Any significant reduction in the overall size of the company could realistically only be achieved by narrowing down the repertory and confining it to possibly one or two theatrical lines. This was a potentially hazardous move, since it signified a drastic break with the century old

traditions of the playhouse. Nevertheless, managers such as Vestris and Macready, did make some attempts in this area.[50] Macready's repertory centred on tragedy and may accordingly have required personnel cuts in the other departments. No precise figures exist for either the size of his company or the exact expenditure and it is therefore difficult to verify this supposition. During her second season of 1840/41 at Covent Garden Vestris virtually banned tragedies from the playhouse repertory, while opera productions were kept to a bare minimum. The main emphasis was placed squarely on comedy, which was less labour-intensive both in terms of the supernumeraries and the back-stage personnel required. The reductions in staff levels thus achieved were substantial. Even during the pantomime season of 1840/41 the company appears to have numbered less than 700 compared with the maximum of 2,000 employed during Kemble's management.[51] Notwithstanding such apparently radical measures the finances of the theatre did not improve significantly. Total expenditure still came to £51,440 as compared with £52,903 for the previous season. The 1840/41 season had been longer, 221 nights as opposed to 199; yet even nightly expenditure figures showed only a modest improvement - £233 over £266 for 1839/40.[52] A number of reasons might account for this disappointing outcome. Vestris' changes to the company structure were almost certainly motivated more by her desire to support a particular repertory and style of presentation than to cut expenses. She possibly made some savings by reducing the number of supernumeraries and highly paid tragedians; her company, however, still included some of the most acclaimed and probably most expensive comedians. It may also be that the savings on labour costs were outweighed by high expenses in the sets and costumes departments. Lavish productions were a hallmark of Vestris' direction and although the number of new productions were reduced in

1840/41, she still presented a number of spectacularly fitted-out pieces. While these policies brought Vestris considerable artistic success, they also suggest a degree of financial incompetence, as the necessary pecuniary commitments appear not to have been properly assessed.

Amongst the various attempts to curtail expenditure, the tenures of Bunn and Osbaldiston stand out as particularly extreme. Both introduced highly controversial measures to curb spending. Although these resulted in significant expenditure reductions, they also brought on the wrath of the theatrical community and audience, and ultimately led to the collapse of their respective tenures.

One of the most daring and unconventional schemes to improve the finances of the patent theatres was Bunn's 'Grand Junction' or 'Union of the Patent Theatres'.[53] By gaining control of both Covent Garden and Drury Lane, combining the companies and assigning specific theatrical genres to each of the theatres, Bunn was to make considerable savings in all departments. The rationale behind this strategy was simple:

> the General Expense of both Theatres... must be reduced <u>one half</u> and that as the first indispensable guide upon which every branch of the Theatre must move, but inasmuch as the actors are not to be called upon to bear so heavy a portion as the reduction of one moiety of their Salaries. Then remains but the advantage of working the two Theatres with the united force to meet the calculation...[54]

Bunn identified as the two principal reasons for the decline of the patent theatres the exorbitant salaries and the size of the companies. To solve this dilemma Bunn devised a twofold approach. Firstly, the repertory would be split between the two patent theatres thereby forcing performers to realise that they had 'but one treasury to go to', and secondly, a maximum would be introduced on salaries.[55] At Covent Garden opera, ballet and spectacle was to dominate, while Drury Lane would focus on tragedy, comedy and farce.[56] The need to employ full-scale playhouse companies at both patent theatres was thus abolished. Since the separation

of genres was not absolute, however, most artists and personnel were required to work at Covent Garden and Drury Lane. Regularly billed for performances at both theatres on the same night, dancers, singers, actors and musicians were forced to shuttle between the two during intervals.[57] Even Templeton, the first tenor, was not exempt from this ordeal, one night singing first in La sonnambula at Covent Garden and then in Masaniello at Drury Lane. Not surprisingly this system was not without problems as productions were occasionally curtailed or their start delayed because '...the actors played at either theatre as required and very often one Theatre waited for persons who were acting then'.[58] Only four artists were apparently able to insist on contracts which either specifically bound them to one of the two theatres or which left them free to chose between the two. Malibran was engaged for 19 performances at Covent Garden between May and July 1835, though her earlier contract for 1833 had required her to sing at both houses.[59] The actors William Farren and James Wallack enforced similarly specific agreements for their engagement at Covent Garden for the 1834/35 season, while Macready was engaged at Drury Lane in 1833/34, 'the option resting with me to play or not at C.G'.[60]

As for salary levels, Bunn argued for the reintroduction of a maximum, which he set at £20 per week.[61] The abolition of such a limit in 1822 and the subsequent rise of salaries had in his opinion hastened the decline of the patent theatres. Artists such as Templeton and Ellen Tree were now forced to accept salaries well below the norm. Templeton received £12 per week during the 1833/34 season and Tree was paid £15 in during both Union seasons.[62] Even during Bunn's own later management of Drury Lane in 1835/36 both artists were to receive £20 each per week; in effect Bunn thus probably enforced a pay cut of between 25% and 30%.[63] While total expenditure figures suggest that Bunn was able to enforce lower

salaries amongst his middle and lower-ranking artists, he was nevertheless forced to pay rather more to the most prominent members of his company. Macready and Farren were engaged at a weekly salary of £30 in 1833/34 and 1834/35 respectively; Wallack received £25 a week in 1834/35.[64] Compared with the salaries paid to the same artists in later years, these payments did, however, represent a reduction by circa £25% - proof that Bunn's policy of uniting the patent theatres was forcing even top-class performers to yield to his salary dictate. Bunn made only one exception to his stringent payment policy. To secure the engagement of Malibran, he agreed to the largest salary paid to any artist during the 1830s at Covent Garden, and one which was comparable to fees paid at the Italian opera house. Engaged to sing twelve performances, Malibran received £1,000 in June 1833 (circa £83 per night); her engagement in 1835 was at an even higher salary, £2,375 for 19 appearances (£125 per night). By comparison, the soprano Adelaide Kemble was to earn £100 per week during a eight week period with three weekly performances during the 1841/42 season.[65]

As Bunn had intended, the 'Grand Junction' resulted in a reduction of expenses by exactly half; total expenditure for the 1834/35 season was given at £51,526 for Covent Garden and Drury Lane together.[66] Presumably this substantial cutback was achieved not just by amalgamating the companies and enforcing a tight pay structure - though these were almost certainly the main factors - but also by a similarly economic use of sets, costumes, props and other theatre facilities. Productions were regularly transferred between the two theatres: operas originally staged at Covent Garden would be repeated at Drury Lane, while dramas would be transferred from Drury Lane to Covent Garden. It seems therefore reasonable to assume that this kind of exchange was also conducted at the level of day-to-day operations. Members of the corps de ballet or the

chorus, for example, who moved between the theatres, would almost certainly have taken their costumes with them whenever these were suited to the production. Props and sets might also have been used at both theatres.

However interesting this experiment might seem with hindsight, contemporary opinion was firmly against such an unorthodox arrangement. Not surprisingly, the Union was highly unpopular with many of the artists.[67] Bunn's effective monopoly soon also became an embarrassment to the proprietors of the major theatres in their effort to defend the patents. Francis Place, an MP and one of the most outspoken supporters of the minor theatres, furiously attacked the redundancies and the enforced salary reductions amongst actors as degrading, insane and 'purely for the advantage ... of one person'. In his opinion Bunn's union was an insult to the public who would surely not stand such shabby treatment of artists:

> with a silliness even beyond that of his predecessors, [Bunn] expects that the public, who are thus treated, will, with a meanness which does not attach to them, do that for him which has been systematically refused for so many years to his predecessors.[68]

Place was convinced that Bunn, as his predecessors, would not be able to draw audiences sufficiently large to balance his accounts and, predictably enough, ended his scathing criticism with the demand for the abolition of the patent theatres' monopoly.[69] Bunn's controversial policies, coming so soon after the publication of the 1832 Select Committee report, must have caused much discomfort amongst the proprietors of Covent Garden and Drury Lane. It is indeed tempting to speculate whether their refusal to reduce the rent during the negotiations for the lease renewal in 1835 was not simply a means by which they hoped to rid themselves of this burdensome lessee.

The reorganisation of Covent Garden's finances by Bunn's successor Osbaldiston at first seemed more promising. Reduced entrance fees,

comparable to those at the minor theatres, were to be offset by draconian cost-cutting measures in all departments. As Osbaldiston's calculations badly misfired, however, his management, too, collapsed under debts and a wave of public disapproval. Ticket prices were cut by circa 40%.[70] Yet such a drastic reduction in income also made expenditure savings indispensable. Osbaldiston therefore took the rare step of omitting full-length ballets from the repertory, thereby eliminating the necessity of engaging a huge troupe of dancers. Furthermore, salaries were again reduced. According to the surviving account book the total running costs of Covent Garden during 1835/36 and 1836/37 respectively amounted to circa £29,400 - about 40% less than during Kemble's or Vestris' tenures.[71] Salaries probably accounted for less than £20,000 during either season, suggesting levels even lower than those paid by Bunn at Drury Lane in 1835/36.[72] Little is known about salaries paid to individual members of Osbaldiston's company and it is therefore not entirely clear how this decrease was achieved. Although the reduction in the number of dancers must have accounted for some of these savings, the largest cuts were probably as usual enforced amongst middle and lower-ranking members of the company. Newspaper reports suggest that Osbaldiston, having acquired the lease only at the last minute, had been forced to engage artists of somewhat lesser standing. Bunn, his rival at Drury Lane, had 'enmeshed all the available histrionic talent of the day...Mr Osbaldiston has been compelled, in not a few instances to present the public with "the less"'.[73] Whether "the less" were also cheaper is a matter for conjecture, though the overall expenditure suggests as much. Nevertheless, Osbaldiston was able to engage two of the most sought after actors in Kemble and Macready, and here he could, or would, not implement any reductions. Kemble's terms of engagement at Covent Garden are not

known, but Macready, having joined the company at the close of the 1835-36 season after a heated dispute with Bunn, accepted £200 for ten nights, plus a benefit 'on the same terms as Mr C.Kemble had his', and '£40 per week, and half a clear Benefit, with six weeks' vacation' in 1836-37.[74]

Although the tight control on pay levels had resulted in a significant reduction of expenses, salaries still accounted for 60% of overall expenditure. Rent and taxes made up another £7,590 and £6,310 during 1835/36 and 1836/37 respectively, which left no more than £2,500 to cover all remaining costs. The account book confirms that Osbaldiston kept expenditure on production and repair costs at an absolute minimum:

	1835/36	1836/37
Cleaning House	£3	£11
Painting & Glazing	£6	£7
Properties for Stage	£13	£18
Turnery	£17	£11
Candles	£23	£14
Lighting	£103	£42
Ironmongery	£139	£112
Painting Room	£229	£212
Wardrobes	£261	£315

By the end of Osbaldiston's tenure Macready considered the renovation of the theatre's wardrobe and scenery an 'indispensable necessity'.[75] Indeed the expenditure figures for the wardrobe and painting room suggest that the majority of productions must have been fitted out with old sets and costumes. As for the appearance of the public spaces in the theatre, an indignant critic, reviewing the opening night under Macready's management, raged

> The theatre has been re-painted and thoroughly cleansed, an operation that was most especially demanded; for, whatever Mr. Osbaldiston may have taken away from Covent-garden, it is certain that he left behind him such an accumulation of dirt, as was disgraceful and disgusting....[76]

Further savings were apparently also made by reducing rehearsal times, which adversely affected overall performance standards. Macready frequently complained about insufficient and ill-prepared rehearsals; stage

technicians, supernumaries and even the prompter were seemingly denied adequate rehearsal time altogether: 'Mr Osbaldiston would not suffer the supernumaries to be rehearsed on account of the expense, 15s!'.[77] To make matters worse, Osbaldiston radically changed the emphasis of the repertory during the second season. Burlettas, farces and interludes, all closely associated with minor theatre repertory and probably significantly cheaper to produce, became the mainstay at Covent Garden; opera was entirely omitted.[78]

Osbaldiston may eventually have been forced to resign due to the combined pressures of public opinion and heavy financial losses. The substantial drop in income resulting from the new ticket prices would at best have left him with a few hundred pounds in profit. With public opinion and that of his fellow artists increasingly poised against him, however, even such a meagre outcome seems improbable.[79]

3) Financial Management: Income

Exact figures for total income are as scarce as those for expenditure. Yet what evidence exists clearly indicates that the substantial running costs of Covent Garden were only very infrequently offset by equally high earnings. To cover the theatre's expenses receipts evidently had to amount to well over £50,000 per annum.[80] Far more was required to organise advance seasons, let alone to make any profits. Balanced accounts, however, were a rarity and profits were virtually unheard of. With almost unfailing regularity former lessees of Covent Garden were forced into bankruptcy and the financial statements published during the course of these proceedings provide ample proof of large-scale losses. Laporte incurred a deficit of more than £15,000 during one single year at Covent Garden; Vestris and her husband declared a shortfall of over £13,000 for

their three-year tenure; and Bunn, though having lost only £1,650 at Covent Garden in 1834/35, calculated the total deficit between 1834 and 1839 at £25,000.[81] Kemble's management had led to similarly high losses, estimated by Forbes at circa £10,000 for the season of 1830/31 alone.[82]

The most complete record of receipts for Covent Garden survives in the 1832 Select Committee report. Covering the period from the rebuilding of the theatre in 1809 until 1832, the list of receipts clearly details the onset in the decline of the theatre's finances even before Kemble took on the management (Appendix 1). Until 1819 annual receipts had averaged around £80,000. During the season of 1819/20, however, they dropped dramatically and by 1822/23, the first full season under Kemble's management, receipts were at their lowest ever at £52,300. Another slump in income followed in 1828/29, which brought the theatre and its lessees to the brink of collapse. With receipts of just over £41,000 neither the running costs nor the debt repayments could be covered. Arrears in rates and taxes rapidly accumulated, and by July 1829 Covent Garden had been repossessed and its entire contents put up for auction. The theatre was saved only through the generosity of patrons and artists who raised sufficient money through a subscription and benefit performances to fend off the bailiffs.[83] That earnings improved significantly during 1829/30 was due to the almost single-handed efforts of Frances Ann Kemble, Charles Kemble's daughter. An untrained and inexperienced actress, she caused a sensation on her first night and raised the season's total receipts to a respectable £57,431.[84] Yet as the novelty effect wore off receipts fell back to the miserably low level of just over £42,000 in 1830/31 - a level which was seemingly to become the norm throughout the 1830s and 1840s.

In 1832 Forbes estimated the maximum nightly receipts for Covent Garden at £600 to £700.[85] Quite clearly though, neither Charles Kemble

nor his brother John Philip Kemble, had ever managed to maintain full capacity for any length of time. Between 1809/10 and 1821/22, nightly receipts came to no more than £370, prompting a triumphant Francis Place to remark:

> [Covent Garden] was not much more than half filled on an average of the nights during the twelve first seasons, which have been extolled as the period when the house was in a flourishing condition.[86]

Since then matters had grown far worse. With an average of £53,500 per annum, or £260 in nightly receipts, the theatre was barely filled to a third of its capacity during Charles Kemble's tenure. Attendance did of course fluctuate considerably according to programming and casting. In 1829/30 receipts on off-nights varied between £74 and £344, while the popularity of Fanny Kemble made receipts on her nights soar to as high as £571.[87] Although Kemble might in theory at least still have broken even, he was prevented from doing so by the agreement with Harris which demanded that any profit be put towards the repayment of the theatre's outstanding debts rather than the running costs.[88]

Receipts under Kemble's successors probably seldom if ever extended above £50,000. Amongst the few lessees for whom total receipts can be accurately calculated, Laporte ranks lowest with earnings at no more than £35,000 during 1832/33; average nightly receipts were usually well below £250.[89] His considerable losses apparently resulted from a curtailment of the season by circa 50 nights, which was in turn caused by poor attendance and managerial ineptitude. Due to continuously low receipts Laporte had temporarily reduced the number of weekly performances to three at the end of November 1832; the nights thus lost were to be offset by additional performances towards the end of the season. Crucially, Laporte failed to negotiate the salary reductions, which were to accompany these scheduling changes, with his company. Not

surprisingly representatives for the actors later described this rather unsubtle manoeuvre as a 'direct violation of our engagement'.[90] Whether Laporte provoked this confrontation is unclear though the scale of the losses suggests that he may well have been looking for a way out of the increasingly unprofitable lease. By 29 April 1833 the account book showed a deficit of £4,647 and on 4 May the lease was 'suddenly' terminated. Having applied successfully to the Lord Chamberlain for a licence, the entire company of actors, minus its unpopular manager, transferred to the Olympic Theatre for the remainder of the season.[91] Much to the amazement of the actors, Laporte reopened Covent Garden at the end of May for a short season of German and Italian opera.[92]

Despite his pioneering cost cutting measures, Bunn fared no better than his colleagues in securing adequate receipts. No figures were published for the first year of the Union, but total receipts during 1834/35 amounted to £49,876 at Covent Garden and Drury Lane together.[93] The previous season of 1833/34 had almost certainly brought considerably higher receipts owing to the tremendous success of Auber's Gustavus the Third; or, The Masked Ball.[94] Since performances of this opera continued during 1834/35 and were supplemented by a similarly successful production of Auber's Lestocq, one must assume that the disastrously low income for 1834/35 was due largely to a reduction of ticket prices by circa 25%.[95] Bunn, the first to introduce lower prices at Covent Garden, clearly recognised the risk involved when he informed his audience that 'the continuance of this reduced scale of admission will depend entirely on an increase of patronage from the public'.[96] Indeed he claimed that the decision to reduce prices was forced upon him by 'the party who found the money'. Frederick Polhill, a retired army captain whose financial support Bunn had secured in April 1834, had apparently insisted on this risky

measure, and had thus 'disconcerted my [Bunn's] calculations and plans'.[97] By December 1834 it was obvious that the gamble had not paid off; instead it had resulted in 'a serious loss to the exchequer' and at Christmas the old prices were reinstated.[98]

Osbaldiston was even more drastic in his attempt to improve attendance figures. In 1835 ticket prices were reduced by circa 40% to a level 'far below what we ever expected to have seen at either of the great national dramatic establishments'.[99] Ranging from six pence for a seat in the upper gallery to £2 for a private box and four shillings for a seat in a box, prices under Osbaldiston were comparable to those charged at the minor theatres. The high ticket prices at the patent theatres had been frequently criticised by supporters of the minor theatres, such as Tomlins and Place.[100] Osbaldiston, previously himself attached to a minor theatre, presumably intended to use this as yet another step towards popularising Covent Garden. This calculation, however, failed and, as in Bunn's case, precipitated the financial failure of Osbaldiston's tenure. What little evidence of exact receipts exists, suggests that the higher attendance necessary to counterbalance the inevitable drop in receipts did not materialise. In March 1837 Osbaldiston's stage-manager Calcraft showed Macready 'a list of receipts, which have averaged £37 something per night'. Even assuming a higher annual average of £60 to £70, total receipts probably did not rise above £15,000.[101]

Ticket prices were restored to their former levels under Macready, but he, too, made considerable losses. According to Trewin, Macready lost 'nearly £3,000 during the first few months' in 1837/38 and ended up with a total deficit of £1,800 for that season.[102] Throughout his tenure, Macready was opposed by Bunn at Drury Lane. Significantly, receipts there seriously declined when Macready took over Covent Garden. In

1835/36 receipts at Drury Lane had risen to an outstanding high of £57,500, a result which was probably primarily due to Malibran's immense success; as soon as she left, receipts fell by almost £17,000 to circa £40,600 in 1836/37. During the two years which saw Bunn competing with Macready, his income plummeted even further to just under £29,000 in 1838/39.[103] Whether Macready suffered equally at Covent Garden is uncertain, since virtually no receipts survive for either of his seasons. The losses sustained during 1837/38 and the accumulated rent arrears during 1838/39, however, all point to a significant shortfall.[104]

The first two years under Vestris actually saw a slight rise in income, from circa £48,700 in 1839/40 to around £49,200 in 1840/41 (Appendix 1); this may have been due to the outstanding success of both A Midsummer Night's Dream and Boucicault's new play London Assurance during the second season.[105] With average nightly receipts of £243 and £246 respectively, Vestris, too, was nevertheless left with substantial deficits at the end of both seasons and matters deteriorated even further during 1841/42 when receipts plummeted to circa £42,500 or just over £210 in average nightly receipts.[106] Ironically, it was the immense popularity of Adelaide Kemble which caused the severe decline. While her performances were sold out, the off-nights were so poorly attended as to cancel any profits. Furthermore, the cost of mounting large-scale opera productions at a theatre which had previously paid little attention to opera, was probably immense.[107] Inevitably, rent arrears accumulated, providing the proprietors with sufficient grounds to terminate the lease. Mathews on the other hand asserted that, induced by the triumphs of his daughter, Charles Kemble insisted on their ejection as he himself meant to take on the management of Covent Garden.[108]

The constant decline in receipts and the apparent ineffectiveness of

any changes in management or managerial strategies indicate that the cause of this ruinous trend lay not so much within the patent theatres, but rather within a wider social context. It was not just mismanagement or ignorance of economic realities, as Ganzel maintains, which led to the collapse of Covent Garden, though these factors in some cases exacerbated the problem.[109] Two of the most important issues to be considered in this context are the possible negative influence of the increased number of theatres in London on attendance figures and the size of the patent theatres. Put simply, were there too many theatres in London or was Covent Garden as a building too large and therefore uneconomic? These questions were central to the deliberations of the 1832 Select Committee and remained so throughout the public debate in the 1830s.[110]

Throughout the 18th century the patents and the strict licensing system had limited the number of theatres in London and its immediate vicinity to the two patent theatres, the Theatre Royal Haymarket, the King's Theatre, Sadler's Wells and a small number of other minor establishments. Between 1800 and 1832, however, eleven new theatres were built, four of which were destroyed by fire; another fifteen were to open by 1843.[111] Licensed annually or bi-annually, these minor theatres were confined to perform burlettas and other musical entertainments and were not permitted to present full-length drama or opera. Yet gradually they began to expand their repertory by blurring the boundaries between the genres: plays were interspersed with songs and incidental music or performed in excerpts, while burlettas were stripped of their musical content.[112] While these alterations were permissable, other productions, such as Davidge's regular presentations of Shakespeare's plays at the Coburg Theatre, were manifestly in breach of the licensing laws.[113] Although prosecutions hardly ever ensued, the patent theatres did object

fiercely to the infringement of their rights and launched a number of petitions and official complaints, without, however, ever achieving any lasting success.[114]

The increase in the number of theatres in London during the 1820s and 1830s coincides conspicuously with the decline and subsequent stagnation of receipts at the patent theatres. This is not to suggest a continuous correlation, but some striking analogies do appear to exist. The years which witnessed the worst receipts under Kemble's management, 1828/29 and 1830 to 1832, also saw the establishment of five new theatres. A further five opened during 1832, followed by the collapse of Laporte's management and the establishment of Bunn's Union. As another ten theatres were added during the 1830s, lessees changed every other year and receipts remained stagnant.

At the hearing of the 1832 Select Committee Kemble and his co-lessees, as well as the representatives of Drury Lane, stressed this causal link emphatically.[115] Forbes attributed the decrease in receipts directly to the increase in the number of theatres and calculated the losses sustained annually at Covent Garden between 1820 and 1832 at around £20,000.[116] It was clearly in the interest of the patent theatres to emphasise such a connection, since this would, at least temporarily, divert attention away from their own managerial strategies and possible miscalculations. Yet even the managers and supporters of the minor theatres indirectly acknowledged the negative impact on receipts at the patent theatres. Wary of the threat posed to their own ventures by an uncontrolled growth of theatres, they ominously pointed to the patent theatres' financial problems. According to Davidge no new theatres should in fact be licensed: 'I consider it would be as prejudicial and injurious to the minor theatres as it is already to the major theatres'.[117] Well aware of

the inherent dangers of too liberal an expansion or even elimination of the licensing regulations, the minor theatres pleaded for what was in effect an extension of the monopoly which would include their own ventures but bar any further competitors from entering the field. Asked what effects the abolition of the patent theatres' monopoly would have on theatres in general the veteran actor William Dowton answered

> I think to throw it generally open would be ruinous to the greater part of those who embark in theatrical speculations, for the consequences would be, as so many adventurous embark in theatres, that in the course of two or three years one half of them would be in gaol; because it is very extraordinary, that though one man takes a theatre for a few years, and loses a great deal of money while he had it, yet others will take it, and they will also become bankrupt.[118]

A parliamentary act which might legalise and expand the current repertory of the minor theatres and thereby put them on an equal footing with the patent theatres was much more to their liking. New minor theatres were undesirable even, or indeed especially, to the existing ones.[119]

Despite all the efforts of the patent theatres to blame their financial misery squarely on the rise of the minor theatres, other arguments were brought forward which appeared to weaken their case considerably. Most importantly, both the patent theatres were simply considered too large: 'The monopoly led them to construct large houses; they built the public out'.[120] Full capacity was deemed unfeasible and balancing the books was therefore impossible. Two issues are contained in this argument: firstly, it was not considered possible to find 2,500 people to fill the theatre every night; and secondly, the majority of the audience could not see the details of the proceedings on stage and therefore apparently chose to attend smaller theatres. Francis Place was amongst the first to suggest the use of this line of argument for the cause of the minor theatres:

> The houses are so large that only a very small part of the audience can either see or hear, and consequently that the time must come when these houses would no longer be attended by [a] fashionable, or respectable audience, nor by any audiences sufficiently numerous to enable the proprietors to pay their current expenses.[121]

At first sight these points seem valid and appear to explain the decrease in receipts at least to some extent. A more detailed analysis, however, suggests that neither offer a straightforward explanation of the patent theatres' decline.

The capacity of Covent Garden in 1832 was calculated at 2,500; Drury Lane was said to hold around 3,000.[122] By any standard, these were large theatres, indeed two of the largest in London. Yet others, including some of the minor theatres, were equally large. The King's Theatre held an estimated 3,280, Sadler's Wells accommodated circa 2,220, and the Coburg, despite its designation as a minor theatre, seated circa 3,800.[123] Admittedly, the King's Theatre was as notorious as the patent theatres for being in financial difficulties, but the Coburg, notwithstanding its considerable size, was apparently frequently sold out.[124] Equally, only a handful of the smaller minor theatres was financially stable, amongst them the Adelphi with a capacity of around 1,100 and the Olympic (under Vestris's management) which seated up to 1,300. By contrast, the Surrey Theatre, which seated circa 1,900, had apparently brought losses of £18,000 to its manager Thomas Dibdin in the 1820s.[125] The simple equation of low receipts and large theatres therefore seems at the very least inconclusive, if not fallacious.

The second issue advanced by the supporters of the minor theatres concerned the supposedly detrimental design of the patent theatres.

> The size of the house, by preventing the audience from seeing and hearing, gradually diminished its number, so that the money paid from all sources was unequal to the expenses of the <u>regular</u> drama.[126]

The immense distance between the stage and many parts of the auditorium

at Covent Garden reportedly made it impossible to distinguish the details of facial expression and gestures, and acoustics were described as poor.

> when I am told that actors can be as well seen in Drury-lane theatre as in a smaller theatre, I can as well believe you can hang a cabinet picture at the top of that tower, and say -"Do you observe its lights and shadows?" "No; I cannot see it all." That is my opinion as to the stage. Give me a theatre of a moderate size where you can be natural.[127]

Yet however forcefully these complaints were voiced, opinions within the acting community were by no means consistent. Thus Macready and Kean insisted that Shakespeare's plays were infinitely better suited to a large stage and auditorium.[128] Kean stubbornly denied the existence of any drawbacks for the audience whatever the play and further maintained that actors were in fact far better served by a large theatre.

> I think the [actor's] intellect becomes confined by the size of the [smaller] theatre....I think the illusion is better preserved at a large than a small theatre... the larger the stage the better the actor, and the less observable are his faults, which is a material consideration.[129]

In part this was also a question of acting style, as Kean, one of the most prominent exponents of the "modern" school of acting, would have used different techniques of voice projection and gesture than an actor of Dowton's generation, who was wary of having to 'bawl if he cannot be heard by speaking naturally'.[130]

Kean's emphasis on the creation of illusion on stage was very much in line with the arguments brought forward by the patent theatres themselves. William Dunn, treasurer of Drury Lane, emphasised that 'a smaller theatre destroys the illusion... of the scene' and pointed to the 'fine scenic effects...which can only be produced on a large stage'.[131] Nevertheless, both Kemble and Dunn at least indirectly conceded that sight lines and acoustics were not consistently satisfactory. According to Kemble two-thirds of the audience were able to see all the details of the acting at Covent Garden, while Dunn estimated that three-quarters of the audience

at Drury Lane could hear well.[132] Nonetheless, neither Kemble nor Dunn accepted this as the cause of the stark decline in attendance. Indeed a look at other theatres confirms the weakness of such an argument, as poor acoustics and visibility were not confined to the patent theatres, but equally affected many of the minor theatres. John Braham's testimony clearly exposed the inherent problems of equating large theatres with poor acoustics. While he considered small theatres as far more suited to singing, he described the Haymarket, a theatre considerably smaller than both Covent Garden and Drury Lane, as 'the worst theatre for sound in the kingdom', and the Adelphi as 'almost equally bad'.[133] On the other hand, some of London's largest theatres, such as the Coburg and the King's Theatre, were deemed to have especially fine acoustics.[134] The most objective and accurate assessment was probably provided by Samuel Beazley, who concluded that the shape of the theatre and the building materials used in its construction, rather than its size, determined sightlines and acoustics.[135] Since, however, Beazley's opinion did not suit either side, it was ignored and the two factions battled on in this somewhat futile argument.

4) The 1843 Theatre Regulation Act and Its Aftermath at Covent Garden

The controversy over the monopoly of the patent theatres did not come to an end with the 1832 Select Committee, for although a detailed report was published, no immediate legal steps were taken to change or reinforce the regulations regarding theatre licensing.[136] The theatre world and the public would have to wait another eleven years before this issue was decisively tackled. Finally, on 22 August 1843 a new 'Act for regulating Theatres' was introduced.[137] With this act 'all current laws regulating theatres and theatrical entertainments' were repealed. The

patent theatres excepted, all theatres were to be licensed annually by the Lord Chamberlain. The licences would be granted 'for the public performances of Stage Plays', which was understood to include tragedy, comedy, farce, opera, burletta, interlude, melodrama, pantomime and other 'Entertainments of the Stage'. Although the patents thus still remained in force as a performance licence, the new act had in effect abolished the previously inherent monopoly. All theatres could now perform or at least apply for a licence to perform anything, including such pieces as had hitherto been the exclusive right of the patent theatres.

Covent Garden ceased to operate as a playhouse almost simultaneously with the introduction of the 1843 Act for Regulating Theatres. From November 1843 until the summer of 1846 the theatre was never leased to any one manager for more than four consecutive months and only once did a lessee attempt to run it as a full-scale playhouse. According to William Moore, trustee of Henry Harris, much of the money advanced by various people to Harris and his father had been granted 'on faith of the patents of Covent Garden Theatre'.[138] The 1832 Select Committee, too, had acknowledged the importance of the patents for potential investors, but in its final report nevertheless voted against their continuance.

> [The] Committee, while bound to acknowledge that a very large sum has been invested in these Theatres, on a belief of the continuation of their legal monopoly of exhibiting the legitimate Drama, which sum, but for that belief, would probably not have been hazarded, are nevertheless of opinion, that the alterations they propose are not likely to place the Proprietors of the said Theatres in a worse pecuniary condition than the condition confessed to under the existing system.[139]

Compensation for the loss of such privileges, though briefly considered, was eventually ruled out in 1832 and formed no part of the 1843 act.[140] Thus the 1843 Act considerably diminished the value of the patents. Although they continued to guarantee a perpetual licence for performance,

the patent theatres' right for protection against any violation of their dramatic domain was suspended. Despite the prediction of the 1832 Select Committee that the abolition of the monopoly would not result in a deterioration of the already dismal finances, the expected increase in rivalry and the lack of legal protection does appear to have acted as a forceful deterrent for potential investors at Covent Garden. In the event, competition threatened not so much from the licensing of new theatres - indeed no new theatres were built after 1843 until the early 1860s - but rather from the legalisation of the present theatres which could now present an extended repertory.

The playhouse at Covent Garden disintegrated within just one year. Kemble's dismissal in November 1842 was followed by Bunn's similarly ill-fated tenure. Forced to resign after barely four months, Bunn bitterly rejected any responsibility for this unusually swift failure.

> Had I been bequeathed, in the beginning, anything beyond an indifferent pantomime, I question if, in the present state of theatricals, any good could have been achieved - as it is, I trust I have made ever exertion which limited means, & personal fatigue, could effect.[141]

Bunn's reference to the 'present state of theatricals' was probably more than a simple excuse. Both he and Kemble had invested significant sums in high-quality artists and productions and yet neither had been able to reap any profits. With the introduction of the 1843 Act imminent, Bunn evidently recognised that it was only a matter of time before the patent theatres would become unviable.

Initially it seemed that the proprietors of Covent Garden would be able to defy Bunn's pessimism, for by the beginning of August 1843 a new lessee had been found. H.Wallack's tenure, however, was both a financial and artistic fiasco. Company defections, radical changes to programming strategies and the temporary closure of the theatre in October not

surprisingly proved ruinous and forced Wallack to resign at the beginning of November.[142] The likelihood of finding a new lessee two months into the theatrical season was slight and the desperation of the proprietors soon became evident. By the end of November Covent Garden was advertised to let

> for theatrical performances, for public or private meetings, concerts, exhibitions, or any of the various purposes to which it is available.[143]

This notice marked the end of the playhouse at Covent Garden; the theatre instead opened its doors to anyone able to summon sufficient capital. During the coming two years Covent Garden hosted concert series, political meetings, and a touring Belgian opera company.[144] Louis Jullien, the flamboyant French composer and conductor, held five highly popular series of Promenade Concerts at the theatre which, lasting between one and four months, provided the proprietors with their most regular, though presumably moderate income. The controversial Anti-Corn Law League organised circa 30 public meetings at Covent Garden from September 1843 to January 1846.[145] Only one final attempt was made by a Mr Laurent in 1844/45 to reinstate drama at the patent theatre; his resignation after two miserable months served merely to confirm the demise of the playhouse at Covent Garden.[146]

With the increase in competition during the 1830s the big companies and extensive repertories previously supported at the playhouse had become increasingly unsustainable. The withdrawal of legal protection through the 1843 Act exacerbated the financial risks involved and moreover seemed to indicate a lack of public confidence in the viability and artistic necessity of the patent theatres. The institutional and artistic structures of the playhouse, as they had survived from the 18th century into the beginning of the 19th century, thus disintegrated under the combined

burden of pecuniary, artistic and social pressures. In an effort to create financially more viable theatrical institutions theatre managers throughout the remainder of the 19th century would strive to present a far more limited repertory and hence reduce the associated production costs.

NOTES

[1]For a history of the Killigrew and Davenant Patents see Survey of London, xxxv:The Theatre Royal, Drury Lane and the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, ed. F.H.W.Sheppard (London: Athlone Press, 1970) 1-8. Rosenthal reported the Davenant Patent lost and reprinted the text as transcribed for the 1832 Select Committee (675-78). The Davenant Patent is in fact now owned by The Philip H. & A.S.W.Rosenbach Foundation Museum, Philadelphia; a photograph and transcript can be found in Geoffrey Ashton and Iain Mackintosh, Royal Opera House Retrospective 1732-1982, an exhibition held at the Royal Academy, London 7 Dec 1982 to 6 Feb 1983 (London, 1982) 20-22.

[2]10 Geo II, ch.28, reproduced in Vincent J.Liesenfeld, The Licensing Act of 1737 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984) 191-93.

[3]For details on the King's Theatre licence, see Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London, i:6-8.

[4]Although the exact definition of what constituted the legitimate drama was a matter of some contention during the 1830s, it was generally understood to refer to spoken drama, and in particular the works of Shakespeare and other classical authors; see for example Alfred Bunn, The Stage both before and behind the Curtain, 3 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1840) iii:228-29; 'Report from the Select Committee on Dramatic Literature', Great Britain Parliamentary Reports, vii (1831-32) 20, 143, 233 (hereafter 1832 Select Committee).

[5]Dewey Ganzel has provided some discussion of the theatre's finances up to 1832, but has mentioned subsequent tenures only briefly ('Patent Wrongs and Patent Theatres: Drama and the Law in the Early Nineteenth Century', PMLA, lxxvi (Sept 1961) 385-96). Jane Williamson's monograph on Kemble includes much detailed analysis of the theatre's finances but is devoted principally to a discussion of his life, rather than a thorough examination of long-term issues (Charles Kemble, Man of the Theatre (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970)).

[6]Other issues, such as changed social habits, the lack of 'Royal encouragement' and the apparent opposition against all theatres by some religious groups were not to be examined by the committee, as these were 'out of the province of the Legislature to control' (1832 Select Committee, 3). A total of 39 witnesses were questioned, including actors, singers, managers, authors and other persons connected with the theatre.

[7]Bulwer-Lytton himself openly supported the abolition of the monopoly and moreover saw the 1832 Select Committee as a means of furthering his own political career (Ganzel, 384).

[8]In January 1832 a petition, presented to Parliament by representatives of the minor theatres, called for the abolition of the patent theatres' monopoly (The Times, 4 Jan 1832; reproduced in [Frederick Guest Tomlins], Major and Minor Theatres. A concise view of the question, as regards the public, the patentees, and the profession... (London: W.Strange, 1832). Amongst the most prominent court cases were Kemble's dispute with the managers of the Tottenham Street Theatre and Samuel Arnold's endeavour to be granted

a license for the English Opera House ('Charles Kemble's Mercies or The "999" Increasing', printed letter, addressed to the Editor of the Morning Herald, 18 Nov 1830; The Times, Jan-Feb 1831).

[9]1832 Select Committee, 53; compare also 38, 45, 51. William Moore, a trustee to Henry Harris, calculated the total debt of Covent Garden at £267,000 (ibid., 224). In a letter to the 1832 Select Committee, Harris confirmed 'the sum now due upon monies lent and secured upon the patent and property' as £256,496 (The Times, 22 Oct 1832). Forbes estimated the total debts at £160,000 (1832 Select Committee, 101).

[10]As part of the contract signed in 1822 with Harris the new lessees, Kemble, Forbes and John Willett, had agreed to take over the old debts by applying the entire rent as well as 'all further profits' to their liquidation; most probably these debts had originated in the construction of the theatre in 1808-09 which had cost upward of £300,000. By October 1828 almost two-thirds of the 'old debt' appear to have been liquidated, albeit at the expense of the theatre's running costs which had probably not been paid in full (Harris v. Kemble, The Vice Chancellor's Judgment, 12 April 1827; The Lord-Chancellor's Judgment, 19 May 1829; A Letter from Mr Henry Harris...to Mr White...in Reply to Messrs. Kemble, Willett, and Forbes... (London, 14 August 1829); Financial papers, Covent Garden Theatre, 4 June 1829, bMS Thr 267, Harvard Theatre Collection (hereafter HTC); Kemble to A.Murray, 6 June 1823, ibid.; 1832 Select Committee, 50, 52, 101-103).

[11]For an analysis of the theatre's income, see pp.37-48.

[12]1832 Select Committee, 114. The total expenditure for Drury Lane in 1826 was also calculated at circa £50,000, or £250 in nightly expenses (E.W.Brayley, Historical and Descriptive Accounts of the Theatres of London (London: printed for J.Taylor, 1826) 11).

[13]The Times, 16 May 1842. Mathews, although not a signatory to the lease, managed Covent Garden jointly with Vestris.

[14]See pp.31-37. Expenditure for Bunn's tenure at Drury Lane in 1837-39 was also significantly lower, £39,066 in 1837/38 and £44,211 in 1838/39. This was due to specific cost cutting measures in salaries and was not representative of the patent theatres (Bunn, iii:158-59; The Times, 18 Dec 1839).

[15]Most principal actors specialised in a particular theatrical line and only the middle and lower ranks would appear in both tragedy and comedy on a regular basis. Similarly, cross-overs between the drama and opera departments were usually confined to lower-grade artists; Vestris, both an accomplished actress and singer, was one of the rare exceptions. The details of the playhouse repertory are discussed in chapter three.

[16]Playbills, 5 Feb 1834 and 1 Oct 1842; Clifford John Williams, Madame Vestris: a theatrical biography (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1973) 178. The playbill for The Revolt of the Harem listed 57 dancers by name; other estimates put the size of the corps de ballet for this production at circa 150 (The Times, 6 Feb 1834).

[17]Ganzel implies that most company members would have been employed for the entire season, 'because of the general method of hiring a company by the season rather than by the night' (390). Principals, however, were not infrequently employed for a set run of performances and paid per night. Furthermore, Forbes himself stated that only half of the theatre's employees were in fact under permanent contracts (1832 Select Committee, 114).

[18]The information in this table is derived from playbills and advertisements in The Times. The figures are only approximations since playbills never record the entire company and published company lists seldom include other than principals and middle-ranking artists. Amongst those counted as actors are some who also took on small parts in opera; those listed as singers would not normally appear in drama unless they were assigned a singing part. Details on the corps de ballet were very seldom advertised and the figures recorded here therefore refer to first and second tier dancers only. Neither the playbills nor advertisements usually identify the department to which the extras belong; these almost certainly often included actors as well as dancers and chorus members.

[19]Bunn held both Covent Garden and Drury Lane during 1833/34. These figures only include artists who appeared at Covent Garden.

[20]A corps de ballet estimated at between 50 and 150 dancers was engaged from February 1834 onwards (see note 16).

[21]List of the Company, 1835-6, HTC. A printed company list for Bunn's 1835/36 season at Drury Lane, annotated in ink by a member of that theatre with weekly salaries, rent and a few other expenses (see p.26 for a more detailed discussion).

[22]An incomplete manuscript list records circa two-thirds of the company, including 35 actors and eight singers (Season 1835 & 36, List of the Company, Archives of the Royal Opera House (hereafter ROHA).

[23]The playbill listing the entire company for 1839/40 only includes 87 artists as it omits most of the supernumaries advertised in later playbills for that season. Many of these may accordingly have been employed on a temporary basis only.

[24]An additional 13 artists were engaged for 'Extra Chorus and Band' (Charles Dickens (ed.), The Life of Charles James Mathews, 2 vols (London: Macmillan and Co, 1879) ii:92-93).

[25]Twenty-one music stands were listed as items 54/55 in the 1829 auction catalogue (see p.38); another 44 were listed for the music room as items 145/146 (Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, Catalogue of the Valuable Properties of this Splendid Establishment...which will be sold by Auction, by Mr Thomas, In the Saloon of the Theatre... ([London], 1829), John Ward Collection, HTC; I would like to thank John Ward for granting me access to this rare document in his collection. Drury Lane probably employed an orchestra similar in size to that of Covent Garden, while the King's Theatre orchestra rose from 56 in 1832 to well over 70 by the late 1830s (Adam Carse, The Orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz (New York: Broude Brothers, 1949) 198-99 and 488-89).

[26]Dickens, ii:92-92; playbills for 13 Nov 1833, 12 June 1835, 31 Jan 1843, HTC. Adam Carse has suggested that the orchestra was augmented for French and German operas only; the playbill for La donna del lago suggests that Italian works, too, occasionally necessitated such changes (Carse, 190).

[27]Forbes, 1832 Select Committee, 114. Fanny Kemble provides a lower figure of circa 700 permanently employed staff, but adds that this excludes the supernumaries hired during the Christmas and Easter pantomime seasons (Frances Anne Kemble, Record of a Girlhood, 3 vols (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1878), ii:13). Vestris' company numbered close to 700 in 1840 (Dickens, ii:92-93). The company had apparently been considerably reduced from the previous year (Williams, 169); see also p.30.

[28]1832 Select Committee, 79 and 95.

[29]Ganzel, 390.

[30]Forbes stated that the expense for supernumaries might at times even exceed £500 (1832 Select Committee, 114). Ganzel has termed these figures a 'representative six-nights' payroll' (390). In fact the pantomime season was the most labour- and cost-intensive period of the entire season.

[31]See pp.32-33 and 35-36.

[32]Bunn's list only includes permanent members of the company; supernumaries for the pantomime season and other individual productions are omitted (List of the Company, 1835-6; see Table 1). I have therefore assumed a slightly higher season's average of £800 for this calculation. The bankruptcy proceedings were published in Bunn's memoirs (iii:258-59) and The Times (18 Dec 1839); the latter mistakenly designated the 1835/36 season as one during which Bunn held both Covent Garden and Drury Lane.

[33]William Toynbee (ed.), The Diaries of William Charles Macready, 2 vols (London: Chapman and Hall, 1912) i:324; J.C.Trewin, Mr Macready: A Nineteenth Century Tragedian and His Theatre (London: George G.Harrap & Co, 1955) 130; Bunn, iii:104; Covent Garden Theatre, Diary, 1829-30 & 1830-31, [account book], BL.Add.23,160; see chapter three, p.152. For a discussion of remuneration to authors, see chapter six, p.295.

[34]The remainder of the total expenditure consisted of money spent on the acquisition and creation of sets, costumes, props and performance material, the up-keep of the theatre, groundrent and taxes; it is beyond the scope of this study to examine all these issues in detail.

[35]1832 Select Committee, 123. The rent for Kemble's tenure was originally set at £12,000, but was later reduced to £10,050 (Answer of Proprietors to Mr Harris's proposal, 3 Jan 1822, bMS 267, HTC; A Letter from Mr Henry Harris...to Mr White..., 1).

[36]Bunn, i:276-277. There are no detailed entries in the account book for Osbaldiston's season of 1836/37; total expenditure on rent and taxes came to £6,310, suggesting either arrears or a rent reduction (Accounts of Payments at Covent Garden Theatre, Sept 1835-June 1837,

BL.Add.29,642). The figure of £8,000 annual rent given by a variant source is incorrect (anon. manuscript [c.1842?] on the history of Covent Garden, 1808-1842, in Catalogue of the Curious and Valuable Library... The Collection of the Late Mr James Winston, To be sold by Auction on Thursday, Dec 13th, 1849, and two following days (Puttick and Simpson, 1850) 13, HTC). Although the rent agreement with Macready probably stipulated a sum of £7,000, he may not have paid the full amount during either of the two seasons; Trewin gives the rent paid for 1837/38 as £5,675, while a note by the theatre's treasurer Henry Robertson shows that out of £7,000 only £5,350 had been paid by 11 April 1839 (Trewin, 162; Letterbook of Henry Robertson, 1823-49, Robertson to Willmott, BL.Add.29,643). For Vestris' tenure the proprietors agreed to a total rent of £15,000 over a three-year period, in addition to £14,000 being spent by her on properties which would remain in the theatre; The Observer gives the original rent agreed upon as £6,166 (The Life of Madame Vestris, 2 vols (n.p., n.d.), "grangerized" volume, HTC, Morning Post, 29 April 1842 [ms excerpt] (333, 341)).

[37]Ganzel, 389. Ganzel's terminology here is confusing. While referring explicitly to the proprietors as financially inept, he continues to outline the management of Kemble, the lessee, as the cause of the eventual ruin of the playhouse.

[38]Bunn, i: 276-77. A series of letters at the Harvard Theatre Collection document Bunn's struggle to keep up rent payments in 1842/43 (Bunn to 'the Proprietors of Covent Garden Theatre', 13 Feb 1843; Bunn to Robertson, 3 May 1843; Bunn to the Proprietors, 3 May 1843).

[39]The arrears in rent are varyingly given at between £14,000 and £16,000. The proprietors of Covent Garden were inserted as creditors for a total sum of £26,166. (The Life of Madame Vestris, 337).

[40]Williamson, 236. A contemporary account by one of the theatre's employees explains that Kemble was ejected 'in consequence of his not paying any rental of the theatre' (J.W.Minkley, An Account of all the Pieces Performed at the Theatre Royal Covent Garden from the commencement of Mr. C.Kemble's Management in 1842, MS Thr 63, HTC).

[41]Macready had overspent substantially, by circa £1,000, on the 1838 Christmas pantomime and by April 1839 still owed a quarter of the annual rent (Toynbee, i:489; Robertson to Willmott, 11 April 1839, BL.Add.29,643).

[42]Robertson to Willmott, BL.29,643; for similar problems during Frederick Gye's tenure, see chapter two, pp.96-97.

[43]Toynbee, i:492.

[44]Robertson was probably appointed treasurer in 1823, the year of the first entry in his 'Letterbook', and continued in this post until at least 1855 (BL.Add.29,643).

[45]Robertson to Willmott, ibid.

[46]1832 Select Committee, 185. At the time of the hearings Kemble and his co-proprietors were also lessees of the theatre. Whether Bartley was referring to a routine arrangement with regard to the proprietors' share in profits is therefore unclear. In 1838 Macready agreed to pay the proprietors £1,000 in the event of profits rising above £7,000; since the season of 1838/39 almost certainly resulted in substantial losses this payment was presumably not made (Toynbee, i:467). I have found no further evidence of such settlements during the playhouse era, although Frederick Gye appears to have concluded a similar agreement with the proprietors in 1851; see chapter two, note 103.

[47]1832 Select Committee, 113.

[48]Lessees were required to replace worn-out sets and costumes, which would, on termination of the lease, become the property of the proprietors and thus be retained in the theatre for the use for subsequent lessees. An article to this effect was part of Osbaldiston's contract with the Covent Garden proprietors in 1835, quoted by Robertson in a letter to Macready, 27 April 1839 (BL 29,643).

[49]Salaries were frequently reduced as a temporary measure. Kemble enforced lower salaries in 1829/30 and during the first half of the 1831/32 season (John Fawcett to Kemble, 15 Oct 1829; Knowles to Kemble, 19 June 1832; both HTC). Singers of the German opera company appearing at Covent Garden in the summer of 1842 continued the season on lower pay after their manager Lebrecht absconded (Robertson to The Lord Chamberlain, 14 June 1842, In-Letters to the Lord Chamberlain, LC1/25 (2192), Public Record Office (hereafter PRO)). Artists were also forced to accept a reduction of their salaries by half at the end of Bunn's 1842/43 season (Toynbee, ii:197).

[50]For a discussion of Macready's and Vestris' artistic policies, see chapter three, pp.144-48, 156-59 and 165-67.

[51]Dickens lists a total of 684 employees for the week ending 26 Dec 1840 (ii:92-93; see also Williams, 169).

[52]Bankruptcy proceedings against Charles Mathews, The Times, 16 May 1842.

[53]Bunn, i:136-37. For a biographical account of Bunn, see G.Urwin, Bunn and His Influence in the Theatre (PhD diss, University of London, 1954). In 1832/33 Laporte held both the King's Theatre and Covent Garden. This apparently similar affiliation did not affect the structure of either company, as both remained separate entities and no attempt was made to combine and thereby reduce their forces, though some ballet productions were transferred to Covent Garden and individual artists made sporadic guest appearances there; see chapter three, pp.141 and 161.

[54]Bunn to his future stage manager John Cooper, 18 May 1833, HTC.

[55]Bunn, i:274.

[56]For a discussion of Bunn's artistic policy, see chapter three, pp.148-49 and 162-65.

[57]Anonymous dramatic chronology 1826-36, undated, [watermark 1829], MS Thr 279, fol.1, HTC; James R. Planché, The Recollections and Reflections of J.R.Planché, 2 vols (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1872) i:238-39; Saxe Wyndham, ii:91.

[58]Saxe-Wyndham, ii:93-94; Winston Catalogue, 13. According to Trewin, the choruses and glees were omitted from a production of William Tell at Drury Lane due to the engagement of the chorus at Covent Garden (98).

[59]Bunn, ii:116-17 and i:240-41.

[60]Heads of an article between Mr Wallack and Mr Bunn, 16 July 1834, HTC; Bunn, i:55-56. Macready was probably engaged under the same terms for the following season (Toynbee, i:45 and 184). An anonymous manuscript at the Harvard Theatre Collection confirms Macready and Farren as being exempt from the general rule (MS Thr 279, fol.1).

[61]Bunn, i:109 and 111.

[62]ibid., i:65 and 243.

[63]List of the Company, 1835-6.

[64]Heads of an article between Mr Wallack and Mr Bunn; Bunn, i:55-56; Toynbee, i:45. Cooper, the stage manager, was offered 'Twenty Pounds Per Week & one half of it constant pay for forty weeks & pay charges for Benefit...' for the 1833/34 season, terms which Bunn himself considered 'not unreasonable' (Bunn to Cooper, 18 May 1833). The salary list for Bunn's 1835/36 season might also act as a guideline for his payment policy between 1833 and 1835, though if Templeton's and Tree's salaries are representative, those paid during the Union were even lower (p.26).

[65]Cheque for £375 (3 performances), 1 June 1835, HTC; Bunn, ii:116-17 and i:240-41; Williams, 178. Malibran was paid another £1,088 for seven additional nights at Drury Lane in 1835 (Bunn, i:244). For salaries at the Royal Italian Opera, see Appendix 3.

[66]Bunn, iii:258; no figures were published for 1833/34.

[67]In 1835 Drinkwater Meadows bemoaned the fact that his fellow actors had ever agreed to work under Bunn's Union (Meadows to an unnamed correspondent, 1 Sept 1835, HTC). Macready's low opinion of Bunn, which was later to escalate into physical violence, is well documented in his diaries (Toynbee, eg. i:65 and 70).

[68]Francis Place, A Brief Examination of the Dramatic Patents (London: Baylis and Leighton, 1834) 11.

[69]A pamphlet entitled The National Drama is equally caustic in its attack on Bunn's policy of uniting the patent theatres and even more damning in its criticism of his artistic policies (Anon., The National Drama; or the Histrionic War of the Majors and Minors (London: E.Meurs, 1833)); see chapter three, note 81.

[70]See p.41.

[71]BL.Add.29,642. Unless otherwise indicated, all following expenditure figures are taken from this account book.

[72]See p.26. Salaries were entered as 'Salaries and Weekly Expenses' in the account book: £20,352 for 1835/36 and £21,503 for 1836/37. Most other expenses of the theatre, such as lighting and properties for the stage, were listed separately and the exact nature of the 'Weekly Expenses' is therefore uncertain.

[73]The Times, 20 Oct 1835. Bunn, in his typically forthright and biased manner, was less considerate: 'Covent Garden was opened upon the worst principle of a minor establishment, that of having a miserable company to support one or two exotics...' (ii:7). Osbaldiston had taken over the lease of Covent Garden in October 1835 at relatively short notice after the playwright Edward Fitzball, sensing the enormity of the financial risk, had rid himself of the same in a last-minute panic (Fitzball, Thirty-Five Years of a Dramatic Author's Life, 2 vols (London: T.C. Newby, 1859) ii:6-10; Winston Catalogue, 13).

[74]Toynbee, i:309 and 324. A lengthy disagreement between Macready and Bunn over the assignment of particular parts had culminated in Macready physically assaulting Bunn. Bunn was subsequently awarded £150 in damages (The Times, 13, 24 and 30 June 1836; Bunn, ii:30-56; Toynbee i:301-32).

[75]Frederick Pollock (ed.), Macready's Reminiscences and Selections from His Diaries and Letters, 2 vols (London: Macmillan and Co, 1875) ii:71.

[76]Amongst the complaints listed were filthy boxes, nails protruding into boxes, and a grand chandelier so seldom cleaned that its light had been dimmed by dust and soot (The Times, 2 Oct 1837).

[77]Pollock, ii:49-50, 54.

[78]For a discussion of Osbaldiston's artistic policies, see chapter three, pp.142-44 and 154-56.

[79]For a discussion of receipts, see p.41.

[80]Rental from other theatre premises provided further modest income. Earnings from the refreshment room were given as £500 in 1832, which included both rent and receipts. £50 was charged in rent for premises near Princess Place (next to the box office), rented by 'Saul the carpenter' and another £300 for the Piazza Coffee House (Forbes, 1832 Select Committee, 115). Ganzel argues that prostitution may have provided another source of income and may have induced Kemble and his co-lessees to continue their otherwise unprofitable management. The presence of prostitutes amongst the audience of the patent theatres and their tacit toleration by the managers was common knowledge. According to Ganzel the persistence with which Forbes was questioned over the use of the house in Princess Place moreover suggests that the 1832 Committee members suspected it to be a brothel (Ganzel, 391).

[81]Laporte lost circa £19,000 during the same year at the King's Theatre (The Times, 1 Sept 1836). The financial details concerning Vestris' tenure were published during bankruptcy proceedings against Mathews (ibid., 16

May 1842). Bunn incurred his heaviest losses, well over £15,000, at Drury Lane in 1838/39 (Bunn, iii:257-59).

[82]1832 Select Committee, 114.

[83]A subscription apparently raised £3,851, and the shareholders agreed 'to make a complete sacrifice of profit for the ensuing season, and also to suspend payment of dividends for three years' (Winston Catalogue, 13; unidentified newspaper clipping, 21 Sept 1829, in Catalogue of the Valuable Properties...). Several actors agreed to perform gratis for up to ten nights, and Laporte offered the King's Theatre for a benefit performance which apparently brought £750 for the distressed lessees (Williamson, 186; Saxe Wyndham, ii:59). In addition 'the Performers... liberally agreed to withhold a portion of their Salaries' (Robertson to the Committee of the Parish of St.Paul's Covent Garden, 4 Sept 1829, BL.Add.29,643).

[84]Charles Kemble had apparently also been able to clear debts of £13,000 by the end of the 1829-30 season (F.W.Hawkins, The Life of Edmund Kean, From Published and Original Sources, 2 vols (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1869) ii:337). According to Saxe Wyndham these debts were 'for rent, etc.' (ii:61).

[85]1832 Select Committee, 110.

[86]Place, 5. Place also claimed that profits during 1809-21 depended entirely on the high receipts taken during the Christmas pantomime seasons (1832 Select Committee, 206). I have calculated average nightly receipts on the basis of circa 200 performances per season and annual average receipts of £75,668. In his pamphlet Place has accepted the lower 'actual average net receipts', provided by Bartley for the 1832 Select Committee, of £66,289 for 1809-21 and therefore arrived at an even lower nightly average of £356.

[87]BL.Add.23,160; see also chapter three, pp.139-40.

[88]See note 10.

[89]Covent Garden Diary 1832-33 & 1833-34, BL.Add.23,162.

[90]The Times, 1 July 1833.

[91]T.B.Mash (Lord Chamberlain's Office) to William Abbott and D.Meadows, 3 May 1833, Entry Book of Out-letters to the Lord Chamberlain, LC1/44 (184), PRO; The Times, 4 and 7 May 1833.

[92]Playbill, Olympic Theatre, 27 May 1883. Aided by Bunn and Polhill at Drury Lane, who permitted several guest appearances of their most noted artists at Covent Garden, Laporte was able to hold on to the lease of Covent Garden until July (The Times, 12 July 1833); see chapter three, pp.160-61.

[93]Bunn, iii:258. Since no separate figures were published, it is impossible to determine average nightly receipts at either theatre during 1834/35.

[94]The playbill for 15 April 1834 described the income from the 76 performances to date of Gustavus as 'the largest ever Receipts ever taken for such a continued Period'.

[95]Harris had warned Bunn, that the new ticket prices would reduce nightly receipts from £400 to £280 (Bunn, i:212-13). Under Kemble and Laporte tickets had been grouped into boxes (7s), pit (3s6d), gallery (2s) and upper gallery (1s). Bunn divided the auditorium into stalls (7s), dress circle (7s and 3s6d), upper circle (5s and 3s), pit (3s6d and 2s), lower gallery (2s and 1s) and upper gallery (1s and 6d), thereby providing a greater quantity of tickets at lower prices (playbill, 2 Oct 1834).

[96]The Times, 29 Sept 1834; also Bunn, i:212-13, there dated 26 Sept.

[97]ibid., i:212 and 222. Polhill, though previously involved in the management of Drury Lane, was described by Harris as 'woefully ignorant of all that concerned the theatre' (Survey of London, xxxv:24; Bunn, i:212-13).

[98]Playbill, 26 Dec 1834. At the beginning of December 1834 Polhill withdrew his support from the patent theatres, leaving Bunn to fend for himself. With low receipts and 'no current capital of consequence to go on with', Bunn probably had no other choice than to raise admission prices (ibid., i:223).

[99]The Times, 19 Oct 1835.

[100]Tomlins, 7; Place, 4, 7 and 11; see also Ganzel, 390.

[101]Toynbee, i:378.

[102]Trewin, 138 and 148.

[103]Bunn, ii:70-71 and iii:258-59; see also chapter six, p.290. Bunn was declared bankrupt at the end of the 1838/39 season.

[104]See pp.27-28. The only receipt documented for Macready's tenure is £55 for 20 April 1838; the production of The Tempest apparently averaged £230 during 1838/39 (Toynbee, i:451; Trewin, 160).

[105]See chapter three, p.148.

[106]The Times, 16 May 1842.

[107]Williamson, 232; see chapter three, p.167.

[108]Dickens, ii:105; Planché, ii:59; see chapter three, pp.167-68.

[109]Ganzel, 389.

[110]Several witnesses at the 1832 Select Committee listed further factors which might have had some impact: the change of social habits (ie. later dinner hours), religious intolerance, political excitement, and the 'absence of Royal encouragement' (1832 Select Committee, 3, 52, 70, 100, 114 and 125). To analyse in any detail their accuracy and effects is beyond the

scope of this study. For a discussion of the impact of religious conservatism on theatres and actors, see Michael Baker, The Rise of the Victorian Actor (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1978) 50.

[111]Out of the fifteen theatres built between 1832 and 1843, seven were destroyed by fire (Ganzel, 388). In 1833 Bunn complained that on any one evening 19 theatres were open in London; in 1840 he listed a total of 23 theatres, 'the greater part of them now open' (i:121 and 189).

[112]According to Edmund Kean there was 'scarcely any distinction' between the legitimate drama as performed at the patent theatres and that produced at the minor theatres (1832 Select Committee, 86; Ganzel, 387-88).

[113]1832 Select Committee, 79; see Ganzel for a more detailed discussion of these matters (387-88).

[114]See for example Kemble's action against the Tottenham Street Theatre (note 8) and the Olympic and Sans Pareil Theatres in 1818 (Copy of a Memorial presented by the Committee of Management of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, and by the Proprietors of the Theatre Royal Covent Garden against the Olympic and Sans Pareil Theatres, 1818). See also the series of petitions and bills placed before William IV and the Houses of Parliament by Bunn, the playwright James Sheridan Knowles and Bulwer concerning new theatrical licences in opposition to Bunn's 'Grand Junction' (Bunn: i:115-22 and 187-95).

[115]Neither Polhill, as the lessee of Drury Lane, nor his manager Bunn appeared before the 1832 Select Committee. Instead, the theatre's treasurer and secretary William Dunn dealt with most of the questions concerning the finances.

[116]Forbes specifically linked £2,000 in annual losses to the Adelphi, and another £700 to £800 to the Olympic (1832 Select Committee, 105). Bunn later similarly complained that 'The weather, sickness, the state of trade, politics, & above all the extension of minor licenses, without precedent at this time of year, have been fatal to Drury Lane' (Bunn to Mrs Pocock, 2 May 1837, HTC).

[117]1832 Select Committee, 77.

[118]ibid., 90.

[119]Tomlins argued that 17 minor theatres should be allowed to perform the legitimate drama, that is all those currently open in 1832 (Major and Minor Theatres, 18).

[120]Place, 1832 Select Committee, 205.

[121]Place to the author Thomas James Serle, [c.1831?], HTC. This letter preempts much of Place's later pamphlet of 1834. In it he suggested that Serle should seek the establishment of a Select Committee 'respecting the laws which relate to Play Houses, and the copyright of Dramatical[sic] and Musical productions'. The size of the patent theatres was to be one of two principal points in the reasoning set forth by the minor theatres; the second would concern the abolition of the patent theatres' monopoly.

[122]Samuel Beazley, 1832 Select Committee, 131. In 1826 E.W.Brayley gave the capacity of Covent Garden as 3,000 'exclusive of standing-room' and that of Drury Lane as 3,110 (11 and 20). The Survey of London follows John Britton and Augustus Pugin in estimating the capacity of Covent Garden at 2,800 and that of Drury Lane at 3,060 in 1825 (Survey of London, xxxv: 65 and 97; Britton and Pugin Illustrations of the Public Buildings in London 2 vols (London: J.Taylor, 1825 and 1828) i:222 and 252-53).

[123]Brayley, 31 and 56; Davidge, 1832 Select Committee, 79. Ganzel calculates the capacity for the Coburg even higher, at 3,932 (389).

[124]Ganzel, 389; Survey of London, xxix:The Parish of St.James Westminster, F.H.W Sheppard (ed.) (London: Athlone Press, 1960) 243; Fenner, 76-84. Under its previous manager J.Glossop, the Coburg allegedly lost £27,000 (John Russell Stephens, The Profession of the Playwright (Cambridge: CUP, 1992) 41).

[125]Brayley, 75; Stephens, 41.

[126]Place, 8.

[127]Dowton in response to Kean's testimony outlined below (1832 Select Committee, 89); see also the above quotation by Place (p.46), 1832 Select Committee, 24, 118, 143, and Tomlins, 6-7. Similar complaints had already been voiced following the opening night of the theatre in 1809 (The Times, 19 Sept 1809). The resulting changes to the repertory, namely the concentration on spectacle at the expense of the legitimate drama, are discussed in chapter three, pp.136, 141, 145, 147.

[128]1832 Select Committee, 132.

[129]ibid., 87.

[130]ibid, 90.

[131]ibid., 74; compare chapter four, p.193.

[132]ibid., 53-4 and 74.

[133]ibid., 93. Braham's statement seriously weakened Kemble's defence, as he had earlier insisted that acoustics at Covent Garden were as good as those at the Haymarket (ibid., 54).

[134]Braham and Beazley, ibid., 93 and 129; Leacroft, 133.

[135]Beazley attributed the problems at Covent Garden to the faulty construction of the boxes which were too deep and therefore obstructed both sound and vision. He considered the acoustics at the King's Theatre as the best in London owing to the large amount of wood used in its construction (1832 Select Committee, 129).

[136]Bulwer-Lytton's Bill of 1833 which urged the abolition of the monopoly was passed by Parliament but defeated in the House of Lords (Bunn, i:187). The concerns regarding the protection of dramatic works and authors were addressed with the ratification of the Dramatic Copyright Act

in 1833, see chapter four, note 89.

[137]'An Act for regulating Theatres', The Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 6&7 Victoria, 1843 (London: Her Majesty's Printers, 1843) c.68, 428-34.

[138]1832 Select Committee, 224. It was estimated that at the time of the introduction of the 1843 act, a total of around £1,060,000 was invested in the two patent theatres. Other patent theatres outside London, such as the Theatres Royal of Manchester and Liverpool were equally concerned that the money invested in their theatres would be rendered worthless by the new legislation (The Times, 11 Aug 1843).

[139]1832 Select Committee, 5; see also Ganzel, 388.

[140]Bunn demanded 'a reasonable indemnification for the loss of their rights' and even Dowton concluded that 'it would be a hard thing to be broken in upon without some remuneration' (Bunn, i:194-95; 1832 Select Committee, 90).

[141]Bunn to the Proprietors of Covent Garden, 3 May 1843, HTC.

[142]For a discussion of Wallack's artistic policies, see chapter three, pp.146 and 150.

[143]The Times, 24 Nov 1843.

[144]On several occasions Covent Garden was hired by musicians for single concert performances, some of which were repeated annually until 1846.

[145]Previously, meetings had been held at Drury Lane, but Macready appears to have declined a request for further use. Drury Lane was rented by the league at £50 per night, while Covent Garden was apparently taken at £60 per night for 50 nights (The Times, 29 Sept 1834, 17 April 1844; Saxe Wyndham, ii:172). The association with such a forceful political movement was not without problems. In June 1845 Covent Garden was leased to the company of the 'Grand French Opera of Brussels' for twenty performances. The theatre's connection with the League, however, made a visit by Queen Victoria impossible and after 17 performances the entire company therefore transferred to Drury Lane (The Times, 5 July 1845).

[146]Laurent's season was notable only for its almost exclusive reliance upon a single play, namely an English version of Antigone with music by Felix Mendelssohn. Another lessee who held the theatre for three weeks in 1846 was John Henry Anderson, the self-styled 'Great Wizard of the North', who was to return to Covent Garden in 1856 with such fatal consequences to the theatre (see chapter two, pp.106-107).

Chapter Two

The Royal Italian Opera, 1847 to 1856

With the disintegration of the playhouse at Covent Garden competition between London's patent theatres and the minor theatres subsided. Temporarily, Londoners found themselves with only two major theatre companies: the Italian opera at Her Majesty's Theatre, formerly the King's Theatre, and the playhouse at Drury Lane.[1] With diverse repertories, neither posed a threat to the other and theatrical London might have settled down to a more peaceful decade. Yet there still remained an empty theatre and a group of anxious proprietors at Covent Garden, for whom it was a financial necessity to find a new permanent occupant. This they eventually did in 1846, when the composer Giuseppe Persiani and his business partner Sigr. Galletti, supported by a circle of dissatisfied musicians and singers from Her Majesty's, proceeded to turn the former playhouse into an opera house. Renewed competition was unavoidable and indeed intended. The fierce battle between London's theatres shifted to opera, and was to remain a major stumbling block to financial stability until the late 1870s.

1) A Second Opera House for London?

To anyone unfamiliar with London's operatic scene, the idea of forming a second opera house in direct opposition to a struggling but nevertheless well-established Italian Opera must seem daring if not reckless.[2] All the large theatres in London were permanently occupied and any new opera company would therefore have to build its own; exorbitant costs were inevitable and acted as a formidable deterrent to most potential investors. At the same time the legal foundation of any new opera house was uncertain. It would have to operate on an annual or seasonal licence, but

would not command the same standing as Her Majesty's. The annual licence for this theatre was usually obtained as a matter of formality; a new opera house could not rely on such an easy process.[3] The high investment required for such a project would nonetheless demand a secure assurance that a licence would be granted not only for one year, but for several years, even decades, to come. Furthermore, the 1791 settlement between Covent Garden, Drury Lane and the King's Theatre had divided the production of opera between these theatres.[4] Both patent theatres had agreed to perform opera in English only, while the King's Theatre was to continue as London's only Italian opera house; this agreement was still considered binding as late as 1832.[5] Then of course there was the problem of financial viability. Could London really support two opera houses? The answer was invariably negative and potential managers accordingly sought to eliminate rather than coexist with their competitor.[6]

With the introduction of the 1843 Act for Regulating Theatres the legal problems of opening a new opera house were at least partly removed, as neither Her Majesty's nor the patent theatres could now lay any exclusive claim to a particular repertory. It was, however, only the collapse of the playhouse at Covent Garden, which eventually made the creation of a second Italian opera house a feasible proposition. It provided a suitably large building and a secure licence for performance through the patent.[7]

2) The Establishment of the Royal Italian Opera

While disputes between singers, musicians and the management of any theatre were commonplace, few were of such grave and long-lasting consequence as that which arose between Benjamin Lumley, the lessee and manager of Her Majesty's, and several of his most noted artists in 1846.

Lumley had inherited many of his problems from his predecessor Laporte, who had been unable to curb the increasingly blatant interference in managerial decisions and escalating contractual demands by his principal singers Giulia Grisi, Giovanni Mario, Fanny Persiani and Antonio Tamburini.[8] Lumley, although not quite as pliable a manager as Laporte, faced persistent small-scale rebellion as Mario and Grisi were regularly 'indisposed'; inevitably last-minute programme and cast changes became a frequent occurrence. Yet it was the drawn out contractual dispute between Lumley and his music director and conductor Michael Costa, which was to cause most serious damage to the theatre. The details of the disagreement, obscured as they are by claims and counterclaims, are of less importance in this context than the outcome: in January 1846, after 13 years at the head of the orchestra at Her Majesty's, Costa resigned.[9] During these years Costa, who was regarded as London's leading opera conductor, had transformed the orchestra into a group of highly acclaimed musicians and a prized asset of the opera house.[10] Although he was replaced by the respected Michael Balfe, this serious loss was to be to beginning of the end of Lumley's career as London's principal opera manager. Costa's resignation was only the first amongst a series of damaging desertions, for it was now that the years of unresolved minor quarrels between Lumley and his celebrated singers were to have major consequences. Soon after Costa's departure, a host of artists, who were soon to form the core of the Royal Italian Opera, left Her Majesty's, including Grisi, Mario and Tamburini; likewise, more than half the highly valued opera house orchestra, almost half of the chorus, and a number of leading dancers abandoned Lumley's company. For several years to come, Lumley was to struggle to fill his thus severely depleted artistic ranks.[11]

Even before Costa's resignation had been made public, rumours of

the imminent creation of a new Italian opera house abounded and by July 1846 gossip had turned into fact.[12] In April 1847 Covent Garden was to open its doors to opera productions in Italian for the first time since the early 18th century. Not surprisingly, this revelation caused panic at Her Majesty's and in August 1846 Lumley appealed to the Lord Chamberlain to block the new enterprise by refusing it a licence.

> It has been generally rumoured and confidentially asserted that amidst other speculations an Italian Opera is about to be established at Covent Garden Theatre - a Theatre hitherto devoted to the English Drama - by foreign speculators.... giving to such a scheme the slightest countenance would produce the most injurious results....It is almost superfluous to point out the evils that thus inevitably arise from a rival Theatre, raising the pretensions of Artists to a ruinous extent, whilst all ensemble and completeness of effect would be destroyed by that separation and dispersion of talent of which the ruinous effect has already been shewn in the annihilation of the British Drama. The immediately consequent effect must be to raise expenditure and diminish receipts....[13]

Lumley, clearly terrified of the impact a competing opera house would have on his theatre's finances, based his petition on four key arguments. Firstly, since his succession to the management, Her Majesty's had been transformed into a respectable and financially viable institution, and hence deserved legal protection from potential competitors; secondly, the production of opera in Italian at Covent Garden would breach a deed drawn up between that theatre, Her Majesty's and Drury Lane which had 'put an end irrevocably to their ruinous invasion of each others departments of the Stage'; thirdly, London already had enough foreign theatrical companies and a new one was accordingly quite superfluous; and finally, Lumley and his financial backers had invested huge sums in Her Majesty's 'upon the conviction of the continuance of the support and countenance of the Crown and of the full maintenance of the privileges of the Theatre'.[14] Many of these points are clearly reminiscent of the arguments brought forward by the patent theatres' lessees during the 1830s; however, Lumley too was in the end unable to stop the formation of a rival establishment.

Whatever the validity of some of Lumley's claims, the main reason for the failure of the petition must be sought in his misinterpretation of both the patents and the Lord Chamberlain's authority to curb the opening of new theatres under the 1843 Act for Regulating Theatres.[15] Lumley appears to have been under the illusion that the new opera house venture required a licence for performance from the Lord Chamberlain. Yet despite the 1843 Act, Covent Garden's patent remained in full force and the new lessees were thus entitled to produce any theatrical entertainment sanctioned by that document. Furthermore, the Lord Chamberlain had not been granted any special powers by the new act to restrain the patent theatres in their choice of repertory and was therefore unable to comply with Lumley's request for protection.[16]

Whether London needed or could indeed support another opera house was a hotly disputed question. Lumley's letter to the Lord Chamberlain explicitly warned not only of the inherent financial risks but also of the negative impact this would have on artistic standards.[17] Somewhat predictably, Lumley argued that the high quality of opera productions he had been able to deliver over the past few years would be put in severe jeopardy by the establishment of a competing opera venue. Yet this was just the point disputed by the supporters of the Royal Italian Opera. According to them artistic standards at Her Majesty's had been so poor that a new company was urgently needed to revitalise the presentation of foreign opera in London. Charles Lewis Gruneisen, music critic of the Morning Chronicle and one of the most vocal champions of the new venture, in later years insisted that

> The second Italian Opera House became a real want, an absolute necessity. Had it not been started, the lyric drama, instead of progressing, would have been thrown back for an indefinite period. The repertory would have been restricted to the wishy-washy Italian masters, and the executants would have been confined to the most inferior order of artists - vocal and orchestral.[18]

As the man apparently entrusted with the task of promoting the artistic vision of the new lessees, Gruneisen vociferously emphasised the artistic superiority of the new opera house and thus intended to provide ample justification for its establishment. Gruneisen's comment cited above, his later pamphlet of 1869 and the 1847 prospectus all seemed designed to invest the establishment of the Royal Italian Opera with a motivation beyond that of mere retribution and rivalry. The new opera house, they suggested, was created not in consequence of the disputes at Her Majesty's, but had rather sprung from a grand vision of improving Italian opera productions in London.[19]

Gruneisen's forceful endorsement of the new company and his active participation in some aspects of the management during the initial years suggest that his interest may have gone beyond that of merely supporting a group of disgruntled artists.[20] It seems uncertain, however, whether his lofty pretensions were equally shared by the lessees of the new opera house. Injured pride, a desire to tarnish Her Majesty's reputation and the necessity of setting the new concern apart from its much loathed competitor were probably as important in determining the language and content of the first prospectus. The public rift between Lumley and his artists had created much resentment and may accordingly have been as strong a motivation for the new lessees as any aspirations to erect a superior venue for Italian opera.

The new company was headed by five men, most of whom bore plenty of ill-will against Lumley and Her Majesty's, but none of whom appear to have had more than cursory experience in matters of opera management. Giuseppe Persiani, the Italian composer and husband of the singer Fanny Persiani, and a Sigr Galletti were the lessees and the two main investors in the new concern. Initially, they probably shared the artistic management

of the company. At the end of August 1846 they had spoken to Frederick Gye about 'some of their arrangements for the Opera', a possible reference to the preparations regarding the programme and artists of the first season.[21] Frederick Beale, partner in the music publishing house of Cramer, Beale & Co, was engaged as manager at an annual salary of £500 plus an eighth share in all profits; his company was also to have sole publication rights to the music for all ballet and opera productions at the Royal Italian Opera.[22] Beale became involved in the concern early in October 1846, when he took over much of the financial and artistic management from Persiani and Galletti; his only direct experience in handling such a complex concern appears to have been in 1842 as the manager of an opera 'party' to Dublin.[23] Gruneisen was concerned principally with furnishing staunch ideological support for the new venture in the Morning Chronicle, though as in later years, he may also have been involved in the engagement of artists for the Royal Italian Opera.[24] And finally, Costa was appointed 'Director of the Music, Composer, and Conductor'.[25]

At the heart of the preparations for the opening of the new opera company lay the total and costly reconstruction of the theatre's auditorium. Benedict Albano, a civil engineer, was commissioned to gut the interior and rebuild it according to 'Italian' principles.[26] Work on the alterations commenced on the night of 30 November 1846 and the reconstructed theatre opened, somewhat belatedly, on 7 April 1847.[27] Most importantly the alterations comprised an increase in the number of boxes, an enlargement of the amphitheatre, pit and orchestra pit, an expansion of the distance between the front of galleries and boxes, and the proscenium, and changes to the public entrances; finally, the whole auditorium was decorated in a highly ornate manner. The result was a lavish new auditorium comparable

to other European opera houses in both size and shape. Equally relevant to the lessees was the increase in the theatre's capacity through temporary seating to a maximum of 4,000.[28] The problem with this extravagant project lay not in the alterations themselves; by all accounts acoustics, sight-lines and decorations were near to perfection.[29] As will be discussed below, the enormous expense and poor financing arrangements of this large-scale refurbishment were, however, to have serious implications for both the financial and artistic management of the first season.

3) Surviving the First Year

The reconstruction of the interior of the new opera house was the earliest and most potent public manifestation of the lessees' intention to compete with Her Majesty's. Nobody could ignore the apparent decisiveness and speed with which the project was brought about. A more striking sign of the determined and aggressive competition threatening Her Majesty's could hardly have been chosen and, as his petition to the Lord Chamberlain shows, Lumley understood only too well the threat to his management. He had indeed every reason to be concerned for, despite all the rhetoric, the Royal Italian Opera was set up not as an innovative operatic venture, but rather as an almost exact replica of Her Majesty's - and clearly there would not be an audience large enough to sustain two such identical theatres.

Notwithstanding grandiose promises of broadening the repertory, the Royal Italian Opera, as Her Majesty's, initially focused its repertory on popular bel canto works with the infrequent addition of new French and Italian operas; full-length ballets were usually produced every evening either between individual acts of the main opera or after.[30] Since the Royal Italian Opera therefore required a company very similar to that of its

rival, it comes as no great surprise that at least one third of the artists were recruited directly from Her Majesty's. Especially badly affected were its orchestra and chorus; 53 out of a total of 72 musicians and 45 members of the chorus followed Costa to the new opera house.[31] Amongst the dancers, too, several had previously been engaged at Her Majesty's, including Fanny Elssler and possibly some members of the corps de ballet. As a result of these defections which were combined with the engagement of other equally outstanding artists, the Royal Italian Opera boasted what was generally considered to be the best orchestra, conductor and opera company in London.[32] Add to this the furore and public attention the new theatre was creating and the depleted artistic ranks of Her Majesty's, and Lumley's panic was well-justified. The Royal Italian Opera might and should have been the clear winner in this fierce battle. For the time being, however, Lumley was spared defeat, not so much through his own defensive measures, but rather through artistic and financial mismanagement on the part of the rival theatre's lessees and manager.

The financial constraints under which Persiani and Galletti had to operate during the 1847 season are ample proof, if any were needed, that even under fairly advantageous circumstances the establishment of a second opera house in London was an expensive and high risk undertaking. The few extant income and expenditure figures suggest that the high outlay for the reconstruction of the building and the presumably immense costs of setting up an entirely new opera company by far outweighed the lessees' private investment and the season's receipts.[33] By July 1847 Persiani and Galletti had only just raised the equivalent of the building costs estimated at between £27,000 and £32,000.[34] Persiani had invested £18,000 and Galletti £6,000 in the concern; in addition, the lessees had taken out bank and personal loans calculated at £4,500.[35]

Additional private capital had apparently been sought prior to the commencement of the season at the end of November 1846, when Persiani and Galletti had tried unsuccessfully to sell shares in the theatre to booksellers.[36] Almost certainly, the lessees had launched their first season already encumbered with considerable debts which had arisen from the refurbishment scheme and which would have to be covered in addition to the normal expenses of organising an opera season.[37] The tough competition for adequately sized audiences and, latterly, a smouldering internal power struggle between the lessees and their manager, further heightened the financial pressure and brought the lessees near to bankruptcy.

With the finances of the theatre in such a sorry state, closure seemed almost inevitable and within months of the grand opening, Persiani and Galletti were in search of a way out of the financially catastrophic concern. Negotiations with various interested parties were, however, hindered by the fact that Beale, much against the lessees' wishes, was scheming to take over the opera house himself.[38] Various options were considered by Persiani and Galletti, including an offer of the entire concern to Gye, the establishment of a trust under Gye and Edward Delafield who would act as trustees for the lessees and Beale respectively, and the sale of the company to the bookseller John Mitchell. Beale on the other hand offered Gye a share in the company under his leadership, and next suggested that Gye should acquire the whole concern by paying off all his liabilities. Amongst all the confusing plans was what was to be the first of many such schemes to amalgamate the two rival opera companies. Mitchell considered the existence of two opera houses unviable and, when approached by Gye at the end of July, revealed that

> Lumley had already offered to let him the Haymarket Opera House on certain conditions & that his plan would be to take <u>both houses</u> -

> remove the Italian Opera from Covent Garden & combine it with the other & use C.G. for other purposes.[39]

The rivalry between the two houses had clearly done enough damage to Her Majesty's for Lumley to consider terminating his tenure.[40] The lessees' inability to free the Royal Italian Opera of all encumbrances or even to furnish clear accounts soon brought this interesting plan to a halt.[41] Understandably, Mitchell and Gye, both shrewd businessmen, refused to take on liabilities, which were incalculable and potentially enormous. With no settlement in sight, Persiani eventually fled to Paris to escape his creditors at the end of July 1847.[42]

4) Gye gains Control

For a short while at least, Lumley may have been hoping that the Royal Italian Opera would not survive beyond its first season. The following two years seemed to confirm that of the two opera houses only one would survive, and while Her Majesty's was suffering severe financial problems, the Royal Italian Opera too seemed unlikely to continue. Yet the engagement of Gye as manager in 1848 and his subsequent advancement to lessee heralded a distinct change in management style. Unlike his predecessors, Gye was to become an aggressive opponent, who, despite heavy initial losses, was determined not only to keep his own theatre open, but also to force the closure of Her Majesty's. Under his management, restrained fiscal policies, superior artistic standards and judicious programming were to become the keys to relative financial stability and sustained artistic success at the Royal Italian Opera.

Notwithstanding Gye's eventual triumph over Lumley, his early years were frustrated by continuing financial instability for which the complexity of managerial structures at the Royal Italian Opera was much to blame. Gye himself had at first only limited influence over financial

operations and instead had to accept continuous direct interference of the theatre's investors and artists in managerial issues. Only gradually was Gye able to gain complete control over all administrative, financial and artistic decisions, and only then did he achieve some degree of financial security for the Royal Italian Opera.

On the advice of Mitchell, Gye was first engaged as 'Director of the Royal Italian Opera' in 1848, at an annual salary of £1,000 and 'for two years certain and further as long as they [the lessees] might have the theatre'.[43] Gye, as the only person at the opera house with considerable experience in opera and concert management, was to be responsible for the organisation of all financial and artistic matters, with the exception of the 'musical department' which remained Costa's domain.[44] Although this agreement appeared to invest Gye with absolute authority over expenditure, engagements and programming, he in practice had to consult with the wholly inexperienced Delafield and his partner Arthur Webster, as well as with Gruneisen and the increasingly troublesome Costa.[45]

In December 1847 Delafield, a somewhat naive opera enthusiast, had singlehandedly raised the capital necessary to free the theatre of all encumbrances and had officially become its sole lessee.[46] He was joined by the more pragmatic, but equally unknowledgable Webster, who had no formal position or financial share in the company.[47] Notwithstanding the inexperience of both Delafield and Webster, their close involvement in all financial and artistic decisions never appears to have been questioned. New engagements and changes to programmes were regularly discussed between Delafield, Webster and Gye, and Delafield furthermore appears to have been concerned with the acquisition of sets and costumes.[48] Gruneisen, though probably not bound to the opera house by any formal contract, was on occasion employed in the company's service. He

accompanied Delafield and Webster to Paris to secure the performance rights to Meyerbeer's Le prophète and to negotiate alterations to the production of Les Huguenots, and was also despatched to the Continent to engage new singers.[49]

Despite his official position, Gye appears to have had little control over financial matters during his first two seasons at Covent Garden. Delafield astonishingly 'never made me [Gye] acquainted with his money matters' and Gye was accordingly taken by complete surprise when confronted with severe financial problems within months of the theatre's opening in 1848.[50] He appears to have been equally ignorant of the total losses accumulated during this first season until January 1849, when he 'looked over some of Delafield's books of the last season with him - there appears a loss of more than £30,000!!!'.[51] Matters hardly improved during the 1849 season, when negotiations were under way to assign Delafield's interests in the theatre to Beale in trust. Although Gye had been asked to act on Delafield's behalf, he was continuously complaining of being insufficiently informed.[52] The settlement eventually agreed upon left Gye in charge of the artistic management of the company, but excluded him from all financial dealings which were assigned to Beale.[53] It was not before July that Beale finally sought the director's opinion: 'Now he has got himself into a mess he comes to consult me... For the first time he also showed me a list of payments'. By this stage, Beale was already threatened with losing the opera house altogether and his appeal for Gye's assistance was made more in an effort to salvage his botched operation than to improve communications.[54]

How Delafield expected Gye to run the opera house or represent his financial interests in the theatre under such circumstances remains a mystery. Trying to sort out his own precarious financial affairs, Delafield

had simply rid himself of all responsibility without ever consulting his director and without considering the detrimental effects of such actions on the company.[55] That Gye in turn should have accepted such blatant lack of information seems surprising. Any doubts as to Delafield's managerial competence may have been overridden by Gye's initial trust in his integrity. Yet both the lessee's naivety in accepting sole responsibility for the liabilities of the theatre in 1848 - a decision which Gye had noted with amazement at the time - as well as Gye's earlier experience as business manager to the financially wholly inept Jullien should nevertheless have acted as a warning.[56] Whatever the reasons, Gye had obviously learnt his lesson for he was not to tolerate such an ineffectual arrangement again.

Towards the end of the 1849 season the finances of the opera house had deteriorated to such an extent that Beale advocated its closure.[57] The company was saved through a scheme by which Gye took over the theatre under a 'joint stock concern' or 'Commonwealth' together with the principal artists.[58] A group of artists, including Costa, Grisi, Mario, Tamburini and Viardot, agreed to manage the company with Gye, on whom the main responsibility for all financial and administrative matters rested; furthermore all company members accepted a share in receipts in lieu of their salaries.[59] A very similar strategy was eventually agreed upon for the 1850 season; Gye signed a seven year lease for the Royal Italian Opera, while the company was directed jointly by him and a group of artists.[60]

Having endured two unreliable business partners, Gye was now faced with a group of highly individual artists, who were entitled to interfere in all managerial decisions. The 1849 season nevertheless closed on a fairly amicable note, and it was the 1850 season which was to expose the problems of this arrangement. Regular quarrels over casts and programmes, the impracticabilities inherent in this managerial structure

and the fear of the artists of losing out financially were the key difficulties. Meetings of the entire Commonwealth, which now comprised six principal singers (Grisi, Mario, Viardot, Castellan, Formes, Tamberlik), Costa and Gye, were held primarily to discuss major financial issues.[61] Gye's comment after one such meeting seems to sum up their effectiveness, 'there was a great deal of talk but nothing positively done'.[62] Most financial and artistic decisions were in fact made by a more limited group. All engagements and contracts, as well as the repertory structure, had to be discussed with Costa and Mario, who together with Gye formed the core management.[63] Yet even this scheme was problematic as Mario was absent for most of the winter and Costa frequently stalled over decisions on programmes, engagements and salaries.[64] Further tension was caused by Mario's and Costa's refusal to support the company financially. In theory all three men were free of such responsibilities. In practice Gye nevertheless found himself advancing considerable sums of money to pay for the rent and other expenses. Costa and Mario on the other hand at first ignored Gye's obvious discomfort over this issue and later simply refused to contribute, thereby jeopardising the entire concern.[65]

Despite these problems Gye dismissed the idea of continuing some form of joint stock concern beyond the 1850 season only after 'various disagreements and jealousies [which] arose between the Artists who had come into the said arrangement' made its extension impossible.[66] Rather than prompting Gye to relinquish his position at the theatre, however, these problems served to accelerate negotiations which he had already commenced with several wealthy business men concerning financial support for the opera house.[67] By the end of August Gye had secured £5,000 from his friend Colonel Brownlow Knox, who, until their relationship was sullied by a bitter legal dispute in 1861, proved to be one of Gye's most loyal

supporters.[68] In the final settlement reached in March 1851, a further £2,000 were pledged by Gye himself, £3,000 by Sir William De Bathe, and £1,000 each by John Webb and Sydney Whiting.[69] With the exception of Knox, who refused Gye's recurrent offers to this effect, all were to receive a share of profits; in the event of any losses occurring, these would be divided between the investors.[70] De Bathe, Webb and Whiting remained passive business partners throughout with little control over artistic and administrative matters. Knox was, by contrast, closely involved in all decisions concerning financial support for the company and was occasionally also consulted over important new engagements.[71] Gye was thus at last able to manage the opera company without constant interference from inept or difficult associates. The addition of a major new shareholder in 1853, necessitated by the wretched financial results of the 1852 season, had little effect on his autonomy. Arthur Henry Thistlethwayte agreed to invest £12,000 in the concern in return for one third of any profits; his main interest lay with the ballet department, for which he appears to have made several engagements.[72] A new ten year lease of 12 July 1854 confirmed Gye as sole lessee and manager of the Royal Italian Opera (Appendix 2).

While Gye was gradually able to consolidate his position at the Royal Italian Opera and to establish a firmer financial base for the company, he also pursued a second ambition. Recognising that a financially stable opera company could ultimately only be created by establishing a monopoly, Gye eagerly sought an opportunity to unite the two competing companies under his leadership. Lumley followed a similar course and London thus witnessed an increasingly bitter contest between the managers. Gye had considered several plans for amalgamating the opera companies since 1847, but commenced direct negotiations with his opponent only as Lumley's financial

problems escalated towards the end of 1851. Gye made repeated proposals to take over the rival concern, while also offering Lumley a considerable sum to retire from opera management altogether.[73] Forced by his precarious financial position to consider these offers, Lumley nevertheless repeatedly brought the negotiations to the brink of collapse by altering the pecuniary and artistic conditions under which he would accept such a deal.[74] Furthermore, he had clearly not given up hope of retaining or indeed expanding his position in London, as he in turn made several unsuccessful counter-bids for the Royal Italian Opera. These particular negotiations faltered, not least it seems because of the managers' deep-seated mistrust and open hostility towards one another.[75] Gye nonetheless almost succeeded in gaining control of Her Majesty's in 1853. When Lumley forfeited his lease due to non-payment of debts in January 1853, Gye immediately signed an agreement with William Samuel Price Hughes, the creditor now in possession of the lease. Lumley, however, refused to relinquish the lease to Hughes and the ensuing lawsuits and financial entanglements prevented Gye or any other manager from taking control of the theatre.[76] Gye thus remained the sole manager of Italian opera in London until these legal battles had been resolved and Lumley reopened Her Majesty's in 1856.

5) Financial Management: Income

Throughout the first ten years of its existence, the instability of the theatre's finances, like its managerial structures, threatened the very existence of the Royal Italian Opera. Due to the newness of the company, the financial problems encountered by its various lessees always prompted questions as to the company's long-term viability and the validity of maintaining a second opera company. The threat of closure loomed largest

during the initial, financially catastrophic, three years, but continued to haunt Gye even beyond the destruction of the theatre in 1856. The inadequate financing of the reconstruction in 1847 and a startling lack of expenditure control during the following two years were the primary causes of the new venture's pecuniary problems. As Gye gained an increasingly stringent, if not always consistent, hold on expenditure and was able to spread the economic burden amongst several investors, the company gradually gained financial strength. Continuous financial success was nonetheless to elude Gye as the significant running costs of the company were frequently swelled by additional exorbitant legal and artistic expenses, and after the fire of 1856, by the enormous costs of rebuilding and refinancing the theatre and company. The intense rivalry with Lumley was one of the principal reasons for Gye's pecuniary difficulties: competition for artists and works, legal challenges and take-over bids frequently disrupted the financial and artistic organisation and thus directly affected the income and expenditure of the Royal Italian Opera.[77]

Although the extent of the financial damage incurred by successive lessees varied substantially, the Royal Italian Opera was, during the first decade of its existence, essentially a loss-making concern. Occasioned primarily by incompetence and mismanagement, losses during the first three years were the heaviest: circa £24,000 in 1847, £34,756 in 1848 and £25,455 in 1849.[78] While Gye was subsequently able to curb such ruinous deficits, he still rarely made any significant profits. The Commonwealth season of 1850 probably closed on balanced accounts and may even have resulted in a small profit; yet this was achieved only through a rigorous reduction of salary levels.[79] Finances improved further during 1851, the year of the Great Exhibition, which ended with a gross profit of £4,226.[80] The increasingly intense competition between Gye and Lumley, however,

took its toll on the finances of both Her Majesty's and the Royal Italian Opera during 1852 and 1853. A ferocious and hugely expensive legal battle between Gye and Lumley over the singer Johanna Wagner led to a loss of circa £15,000 at the Royal Italian Opera in 1852 from which Gye was only gradually to recover; Her Majesty's was forced into closure at the end of the 1852 season.[81] Gye reduced the massive deficit to circa £4,000 in 1853, and built up a gross profit of £2,661 in 1854.[82] The 1855 season, however, again saw a loss of £3,000.[83] It was not before the mid-1860s that Gye was to secure greater financial stability, though even then substantial profits were to illude him.[84]

While the lessees of the Royal Italian Opera were evidently struggling to keep the company afloat, matters were even worse at Her Majesty's. Few precise financial details have so far come to light, though references in Gye's diaries, as well as Lumley's increasingly desperate attempts to rid himself of the theatre from 1850 onwards, provide ample proof of the rival manager's serious pecuniary difficulties.[85] Within months of the opening of the Royal Italian Opera in 1847, Lumley made strenuous, though unsuccessful efforts to find a new lessee for his theatre. During later legal proceedings total receipts of £45,924 were recorded for that season at Her Majesty's, almost £10,000 less than those of the rival company.[86] From then on, rumours that Lumley faced grave financial problems and intended to surrender his position occurred with great regularity.[87] Following the debacle over the non-appearance of Johanna Wagner, receipts fell to a disastrously low level of £2,800 in 1852.[88] When Lumley was finally forced to relinquish the lease of Her Majesty's in January 1853, he apparently faced 'registered judgements' of £23,000. Some artists' salaries were still outstanding for the 1852 season and the theatre's property box holders and creditors were actively

searching for a new tenant.[89] During the three-year closure of Her Majesty's that followed, the 'judgment debts' accumulated under its former manager continued to multiply and reached £90,000 by 1856; not surprisingly, these debts were one of the major stumbling blocks in the numerous negotiations over the reopening of the theatre.[90]

The lessees of the Royal Italian Opera had two principal sources of income, the subscriptions taken up each season by booksellers and private patrons, and the nightly box office receipts.[91] While the Coutts ledgers rarely differentiate between these forms of income, references in Gye's diaries and the figures published during Delafield's bankruptcy proceedings suggest that subscriptions accounted for at least 45%, box office receipts for circa 50% and other income for 4% to 5% of the total revenue. A hypothetical calculation, based on the average season's length of 66 nights, a maximum average of £560 in nightly box office receipts, and annual subscriptions of circa £25,000, would put the maximum income through ticket sales at around £62,000.[92] As far as is possible to determine receipts never reached this theoretical optimum. Gross income in fact appears normally to have totalled between £45,000 and £50,000 from 1847 to 1855.[93]

The interest generated by the new operatic venture in its first year almost certainly accounts for what may have been the highest receipts of the company until the 1860s: £55,000 in total, including £25,700 in subscriptions.[94] Most performances during 1847 must accordingly have been sold out - a remarkable achievement for the new company. Receipts fell by almost £10,000 during Delafield's first season of 1848 to £44,008; of this £21,253 were subscriptions and £20,907 were taken at the box office.[95] The abatement of the initial furore surrounding the company's establishment may have been the principal cause of this significant slump

in receipts, an assessment supported by the fact that subsequent seasons appear seldom to have brought markedly higher income. There are, however, indications that some ill-advised changes were made to the pricing arrangements which may have adversely affected the income.[96] At £29,407, total receipts in 1849 fell by almost 50% over the previous year to the lowest level since the establishment of the company in 1847; subscriptions accounted for £13,195 and box office receipts for £14,791.[97] On average, the theatre could thus not have been filled beyond half of its capacity. The uncertainties over the continuation of the 1849 season and of the company as a whole probably accounted at least in part for this immense decrease. The booksellers, wary of losing their investment should the theatre close before the official season's end, withheld part of their subscriptions until the end of July, while the payments of circa 4% of private subscriptions were still outstanding in September.[98]

An assessment of receipts during Gye's tenure from 1850 to 1855 is complicated by the evident incompleteness of the Coutts ledgers, which are the only detailed financial records for this period. The total revenue figures furnished by these documents give some indication of the financial state of the company, but are limited in their comparability to the figures for 1847 to 1849. The income listed in the Coutts ledger for the first full Commonwealth season of 1850 amounted to £20,299. A comparison of the expenditure figures with Gye's diary of 1850 clearly indicates that only part of these transactions were channelled through the Coutts account.[99] One might therefore reasonably assume that the same applied to the income side. While the moderate financial success of the 1850 season suggests that receipts were indeed significantly higher, an exact figure cannot be established. The 1852 account may present a similarly incomplete revenue record, although circumstances suggest that Gye did have to contend with

lower receipts during that season. He apparently secured a subscription totalling £27,400, but the Coutts ledger lists a total income of no more than circa £33,000.[100] It seems unlikely that box office receipts would have amounted to as little as £6,000, though Gye did incur significant losses in subscriptions through the cancellation of Johanna Wagner's engagement and the subsequent postponement of several productions.[101] The temporary reduction of ticket prices at the end of August also had an adverse effect on the overall income.[102] The immense deficit of £15,000 for the 1852 season was, however, according to Gye's own statement, not due to low receipts, but rather caused by extraordinarily high legal expenses incurred through the Wagner affair. One can therefore only conclude that receipts were lower than average in 1852, though whether they were as low as £33,000 is doubtful.[103] In 1851 and from 1853 onwards, Gye secured an income well above £40,000. Receipts amounted to at least £41,116 in 1851, £41,702 in 1853, £47,277 in 1854 and £44,677 in 1855.[104] No doubt the closure of Her Majesty's during the three seasons of 1853 to 1855 was at least in part responsible for this increase in revenue.

Despite the destruction of the theatre in 1856, the Royal Italian Opera had by the mid-1860s established itself as the principal Italian opera house in London and had thereby replaced Her Majesty's in the audience's favour.[105] The fluctuations in receipts listed above nevertheless indicate that the status of the Royal Italian Opera during the first decade of its existence, and accordingly its standing with London opera audiences, was far from secure.[106] As Jennifer Hall has shown, audience loyalties were slow to shift from Her Majesty's as the traditional home of Italian opera. The Royal Italian Opera instead attracted a new audience; while the upper aristocracy continued to visit Her Majesty's, the lesser aristocracy

frequented the new operatic institution.[107] The differing audiences were in part a reflection of the artistic ideologies advocated by the two theatres: the Royal Italian Opera promoted the "reform" of the operatic system, while Her Majesty's represented the established order. Political affiliations accordingly also seem to have influenced the propensity of certain sections of the audience for either theatre; while Her Majesty's attracted mainly Conservatives and peers, the Royal Italian Opera was visited more by Liberals.[108] Yet, as will be shown in chapter four, the pressures of competition forced the lessees of the Royal Italian Opera to abandon many of the principal points of their reform intentions even before the start of the 1847 season. Although Gye subsequently introduced many significant artistic innovations which almost certainly affected audience preferences, one might therefore question whether the "ideological" appeal, as defined by Jennifer Hall, continued to exert such a powerful influence on audiences beyond the 1847 season without undergoing any significant changes in itself.[109]

More mundane considerations might have had a more lasting influence on the constitution of the rival theatres' audiences. Jennifer Hall has shown that few members of the audience regularly attended both opera houses.[110] Nevertheless, several entries in Gye's diaries suggest, that aristocratic support for either theatre was not consistent, as some of the most influential patrons switched loyalties when this appeared financially advantageous. A significant number of these sponsors intermittently provided considerable financial assistance beyond their annual subscriptions and a change in their allegiance could therefore have major repercussions on the viability of the two opera houses.[111] Such fluctuations were only occasionally recorded by Gye prior to 1852, but increased markedly as Lumley's company became financially unstable. The

destruction of the Royal Italian Opera in 1856 caused a more limited move of some former supporters to Her Majesty's.[112] Since these aristocratic patrons were also of prime importance in determining the fashionableness of either opera house, the transfer of loyalties could seriously affect the overall composition of the audience; they were therefore eagerly courted by both Gye and Lumley.[113]

The attendance of the Royal family, and of Queen Victoria in particular, was of possibly even greater consequence, as it ensured the presence of large sections of the upper aristocracy at the theatre. The Queen's almost twice-weekly attendance at Her Majesty's in 1847 probably guaranteed Lumley a significant income from the attending nobility and should be seen as a clear statement of preference for that theatre by the Royal family.[114] Jennifer Hall has suggested that it was the retirement of Jenny Lind in 1849 which prompted the Queen to reduce the number of visits to Her Majesty's thereafter and instead to increase her attendance at the Royal Italian Opera.[115] While the departure of Lind undoubtedly influenced the Queen's move, her and Prince Albert's preference for the German and French repertory, which was regularly performed at the Royal Italian Opera from 1848, partly at their specific request, was almost certainly equally important.[116] Whatever her motivation, it seems highly probable, that a large section of the aristocracy followed the Queen to the Royal Italian Opera - with disastrous financial consequences for Lumley.[117] Receipts listed by Gye for state visits show that these could earn him almost six times the average nightly income.[118] Recognising the immense financial and social importance of the Queen's support, Gye accepted significant reductions in her subscription and made strenuous efforts to accommodate her requests regarding programming details.[119] These concessions paid off, when in 1856 the Queen refused to take a box

at Her Majesty's and instead affirmed her and Prince Albert's support for Gye and his endeavour to rebuild the Royal Italian Opera.[120]

The composition of the audience, as well as the finances, were further affected by the large group of highly influential aristocratic property box and stalls seat holders at Her Majesty's.[121] Although their precise figure was a matter of much confusion, it seems that at least 29 or 30 boxes and 15 to 33 stalls seats, had been sold outright, and a further 20 boxes and 12 to 20 stalls seats had been assigned as securities for advances.[122] In 1852 another 20 boxes and 30 stalls seats had apparently been allocated to a number of aristocratic patrons, including Lord Ward and the Duke of Leinster, for their recent advances to Lumley.[123] The proportion of boxes thereby made unavailable for ticket sales through booksellers probably rose to between 30% to 40% of all boxes.[124] By contrast, the Royal Italian Opera appears to have had only very few property box holders during the 1840s and 1850s.[125] Persiani and Galletti may simply not have been able to generate enough interest in such deals, as a sizeable section of London's opera audience was already financially committed to Her Majesty's and was therefore probably unwilling to back their new, financially unstable and artistically unproven venture. Gye, on the other hand, was apparently reluctant to grant any extensive property rights to patrons beyond the stipulated length of his lease.[126] The financial implications of having a large number of unpaying audience members were only too clearly demonstrated at Her Majesty's. Gye, and indeed Lumley himself, considered that theatre unviable, unless the property box and stalls seats holders could be bought by the management.[127] Beyond the immediate financial implications, the close association of so many important aristocratic patrons with Her Majesty's would undoubtedly have influenced the frequency of their attendance, and

thus of other members of the aristocracy, at either opera house.[128]

Although many private patrons settled their season's subscriptions directly with the opera house managers, the vast majority of subscriptions, as well as some of the nightly ticket sales, was handled by booksellers. Most booksellers had agreements with both opera houses and were able to exert considerable control over attendance, and hence the rival managers, through the level of their financial commitments. Booksellers would normally agree to purchase a fixed number of tickets for the season at a discount of at least 10% to 15% under the advertised price; these would be resold either as subscriptions or on a nightly basis at the regular price.[129] In order to increase the booksellers' subscriptions, both Gye and Lumley regularly made significant concessions by granting them better terms such as higher percentages on increased levels of subscriptions, greater numbers of nights at a fixed price or a reduction of ticket prices for boxes.[130] At the Royal Italian Opera, the major booksellers, such as Chappell and Mitchell, would subscribe for up to circa £3,500 to £4,000 annually.[131] Yet in 1852 Mitchell had undertaken a record subscription of £15,000 at Her Majesty's. With this deal Mitchell may have intended to secure the continuation of Her Majesty's, as the competition between the two opera houses was highly beneficial to the booksellers. In the end, however, he made considerable losses, while Lumley was forced to concede defeat.[132] Mitchell's influence on London's opera mangers went even further, as he was able to provide substantial advances and was himself a potential competitor.[133] While Mitchell's financial leverage was probably the most significant, other booksellers were also able to exert pressure on the opera managers through their involvement in the national and international opera circuit. Booksellers, such as Chappell, Beale and Mitchell, ran music publishing houses through which they could control

acquisitions of performance and publications rights to operas. Furthermore, many acted as mediators for artists' contracts and were themselves involved in arranging concerts and other musical and theatrical events.[134] To secure subscriptions of these booksellers could therefore also deliver other potential benefits, such as preferential agreements over artists and new operas, and reduced the risk of further competition.

6) Financial Management: Expenditure

The expenditure of the Royal Italian Opera was governed in practice by three closely related factors: the repertory, its overall financial and managerial organisation and the competition with Lumley at Her Majesty's. The level of individual expenses expanded and contracted as the various managers attempted to create a viable venture. Regardless of substantial reductions in artists' salaries and far-reaching changes to the repertory structure, overall expenditure appears nevertheless not to have fallen below £40,000 and was in fact frequently closer to £50,000.[135]

Although some financial details have survived for the building work carried out in 1846 to 1847, no total expenditure figure can be been calculated for the first Royal Italian Opera season.[136] Doubtless the expense of setting up a new company would have brought the season's outlay well above average and would thus have contributed to the immense debts accumulated by the close of the 1847 season. Delafield initially exercised no restraint in matters of expenditure which rose to a startling high of £78,765 in 1848.[137] The inevitable financial pressures and the increasingly determined attempts by Gye and Beale to bring spending under control, brought some reductions in 1849 as expenditure was cut by 30% to £54,862. During the Commonwealth season of 1850, even greater restrictions probably reduced expenditure still further. The 1850 Coutts

ledger lists largely unidentified expenses of £20,128 - a figure which indicates the minimum, but almost certainly not the total expenditure of that season.[138] In 1850 Gye estimated that the total expenditure for the 1851 season at the Royal Italian Opera would 'not exceed £40,000'.[139] At the time, no final decision had been reached over the exact managerial structure for the 1851 season and it seems likely that Gye based his calculations on the expenditure level of the preceding season. The 1851 Coutts ledger indeed lists expenses of £40,102; this figure may be incomplete as some salary payments and other expenses appear not to have been channelled through the Coutts account. Similarly, the 1852 Coutts ledger records a total expenditure of only £32,902 for that financially disastrous season. To this, a further £10,000 to £15,000 should probably be added, as neither the extensive legal fees incurred through the Wagner affair, nor the entire rent or artists' salaries were apparently entered.[140] Despite the abatement of competition in 1853, expenditure levels seem to have remained at around £50,000 thereafter. The 1853 Coutts ledger shows a total expenditure of £40,778 for that season; further rent payments for the Royal Italian Opera and legal fees relating to Gye's take-over bid of Her Majesty's and Lumley's lawsuit concerning Wagner not listed in the ledger might have added another £5,000 to £10,000.[141] Much higher figures are recorded in the Coutts ledgers for 1854 and 1855, when expenditure amounted to at least £47,227 and £47,005 respectively. These later accounts may in part reflect an increased use of Coutts Bank for Gye's business transactions, though repertory changes made during these years also suggest an actual rise of expenses.[142]

The single largest expense of the Royal Italian Opera was the rent payable, usually in monthly instalments, to the theatre's proprietors. Despite their initial concern over the radical conversion of the former

playhouse into an opera house, the proprietors soon endeavoured to safeguard the theatre's future as a viable opera house independently of any particular lessee.[143] During rent negotiations the proprietors therefore increasingly sought to enforce not only higher payment levels but also binding clauses over the use of the theatre as an opera house.

After almost three years without a permanent tenant, the proprietors let Covent Garden to Galletti and Persiani in 1846 at the comparatively low annual rent of £6,000.[144] Following the lengthy search for a new lessee in the autumn of 1847, Delafield was possibly able to negotiate similarly lenient financial terms in 1848, though no precise details have apparently survived. Like his predecessors, however, Delafield was soon unable keep up regular payments. By July 1848 he faced an execution for rent of £1,500 and the following season rent arrears of £2,000 had already accumulated by April.[145] Although the proprietors were obviously keen to secure the outstanding rent, they were at this stage still prepared to make concessions in order to ensure the continuation of the 1849 season. The theatre's treasurer Robertson told Gye, that 'if I [Gye] could find a responsible tenant for the theatre - they [the proprietors] wd. not ask him for any arrears of rent'.[146] Furthermore, during the lease negotiations for the Commonwealth in 1850, the proprietors, finding that Gye firmly rejected their demands for a much increased fixed rent of £7,800, instead accepted a share of receipts. According to the 1849 lease, the proprietors were to receive one seventh of gross receipts during the opera season and one tenth during the remainder of the year.[147] Alternatively, the proprietors agreed to take a fixed rent of £8,000, if payment could be guaranteed, in which case they would no longer be entitled to their profit share.

While the proprietors showed some flexibility in negotiating the rent,

they were highly restrictive in defining the use of the theatre. Article five of the 1849 lease required Gye to open Covent Garden as an Italian opera house on at least 60 nights during the season; failure to do so would result either in a demand for a fixed rent of £8,000 or in the forfeiture of the lease. The principal purpose of this clause was presumably to provide greater financial security for the proprietors by guaranteeing them a minimum number of performances. Yet the specification of the repertory moreover ensured the continuation of the rivalry between the two London opera houses.

The 1849 agreement appears to have remained in effect until the end of the 1854 season, when Gye signed a new ten-year lease with the proprietors (Appendix 2).[148] The arrangement must have seemed the only practicable one during the relatively unstable Commonwealth season of 1850, as it did not commit Gye and his fellow directors to a particular rent, while the proprietors were assured at least some income from the lease. Possibly because of the financial uncertainties inherent in the 1850 agreement, Gye attempted, unsuccessfully, to negotiate a fixed rent once he had taken on sole responsibility for the opera house in 1851. Yet despite similar provisions for such a settlement already included in the 1849 lease, the proprietors now refused to accept these terms and instead appear to have insisted on the profit sharing arrangement.[149]

Until 1852, rent payments to the proprietors were made regularly at least twice a month during the opera season.[150] As Gye, however, became more determined in his efforts to compete artistically with Lumley and made decisive efforts to take over Her Majesty's, his own company too suffered financially. Rent arrears accumulated during 1852, 1853 and possibly 1854, and in July 1853 Gye was threatened with ejection, even though he was already negotiating a new lease with the proprietors and even though the

arrears appear to have been comparatively small.[151]

> There was about £250 due to the Proprietors for rent & having lots to pay this week I asked Robertson to take it out of next weeks' receipts - which he refused to do, saying he was ordered by the Proprietors to adhere strictly to our agreement - what people - & I have paid them more than £20,000.

Such an uncompromising stance would have been unthinkable in 1850 and seems indicative of the proprietors' growing confidence in the long-term viability of Covent Garden as an opera house.

The new lease signed on 12 July 1854 effectively sealed the transformation of the former playhouse into London's premier opera house. With Her Majesty's closed for the foreseeable future, the proprietors of Covent Garden were able to renew Gye's commitment to opera sung in Italian.[152] Under article seven, Gye was to operate the theatre as an Italian opera house from April to July at an annual rent of £6,500; an increased rent of £8,000 or the forfeiture of the lease were now inserted as punitive measures (Appendix 2). Gye had agreed to this clause only once his efforts to secure a lease of Her Majesty's had failed. During previous negotiations over a new lease in 1853, he had refused to be bound so definitively to this particular use of the theatre and had threatened to relinquish his interest in Covent Garden.[153] In addition, Gye also consented, albeit reluctantly, to several stringent provisions concerning the payment and administration of the rent. Dates and levels of payment were stipulated in the lease and, more importantly, the proprietors reserved the right to appoint a treasurer who could appropriate box office receipts in lieu of rent in the event of arrears (Appendix 2, articles 4, 7 and 16).[154] The 1854 lease thereby formalised the long-established arrangement, under which the theatre's treasurer Robertson was responsible for the prompt settlement of rent arrears.[155] Like his playhouse predecessors, Gye much resented this procedure, not only

because the treasurer could at times be an implacable intermediary, but also because negotiations were regularly prolonged by the extended consultations between Robertson and the proprietors.[156] Nevertheless, Gye's relationship with Robertson appears to have been less strained than during previous years, as most payments were made in accordance with the 1854 lease.[157]

Both the 1849 and 1854 leases committed Gye to several further significant expenses, such as the payment of income tax, the up-keep of the interior and parts of the exterior of the building and the renewal of sets, costumes and properties (Appendix 2, articles 5, 18 and 19).[158] As during the playhouse era, the sets and costumes already extant in the theatre were considered the property of the proprietors and their use by the lessee was built into the rent level agreement (Appendix 2, article 15). Yet the replacement of worn-out costumes and sets and the creation of new ones were a necessity and those costs had to be born by the lessee.[159] The total annual outlay for these effects can be established only rarely and expenses relating to specific productions are equally difficult to assess; similarly, salaries for set designers, scene painters and costume makers are seldom recorded.[160]

The creation of the new opera company in 1847 evidently required some investment in new sets, costumes and properties. Only a handful of the Royal Italian Opera repertory had ever been performed at the playhouse; all ballets were new and only seven of the 18 operas had previously been staged. Many of the old sets and costumes still extant in the theatre could probably have been adapted for any opera or ballet. Given the increased size of both the opera and ballet departments as compared with the playhouse company, new ones must nonetheless also have been commissioned (Tables 1 and 2, pp.24 and 100).[161] Moreover,

the theatre had not been in regular use for theatrical performances since 1843 and whatever had remained in the building since, may accordingly have been in poor condition and in need of replacement. Although no figures for these expenses appear to have survived, the 'value' of the 'properties in the theatre' was set at £8,000 during subsequent negotiations with potential buyers of the concern.[162] This sum probably reflected the resale value rather than the actual investment in new properties which might have been even higher.

Under Delafield, expenditure on sets and costumes was, at least initially, extravagant. During his bankruptcy proceedings, total payments for properties, scene painting and wardrobes were given as £6,219 in 1848; of this, costumes alone made up £3,100.[163] The production of Les Huguenots and the series of new ballets in 1848 in particular must have accounted for a significant proportion of these expenses. Delafield's willingness to commit significant funds to individual productions was in stark contrast to Gye's more prudent approach which only occasionally appears to have prevailed during the 1848 season: 'Mr Delafield spoke to me about the expense of the new ballet - he said Blamire had said the properties alone wd. be £600 - I said no'.[164] The increasing pecuniary pressures, however, which forced Delafield to agree to a reduction of the ballet department in 1849, also had an immediate effect on the resources dedicated to sets and costumes. Presumably both as a result of the more limited ballet repertory as well as general savings enforced by Gye, the expenditure on wardrobes was halved to £1,500 in 1849, while properties and sets were also funded less liberally, bringing the total cost in these departments down to £3,510.[165]

Under Gye, the renewal and augmentation of the company's sets, costumes and properties became an important part of his artistic policy.

His aim was to build up as complete as possible a stock to allow for an extensive and flexible repertory.[166] The cost of such a strategy, though spread over several seasons, was immense, as Gye's despondent assessment of the fire damage in 1856 shows.

> my most splendid collection of dresses, armour music, properties &c now so complete as to require very little further outlay all destroyed - it must have cost at the very least £30,000.[167]

Had it not been for the fire, this substantial investment could in the long term have brought expenditure down considerably; many sets, costumes and properties could have been reused, also for new productions, while only a limited number would have had to have been newly commissioned. Due to the nature of the primary sources, no exact figures can be established for Gye's annual expenditure on these items. Indicative of the tight control exerted by Gye is, however, the unusual arrangement he appears to have achieved with the leading artists in 1850. Instead of taking their costumes with them at the conclusion of that season, as was common practice, the principals had agreed to leave some of their costumes in the theatre which could thus be reused the following season.[168]

As during the 1830s and early 1840s, artists' salaries usually made up more than 50% of the total expenditure at the Royal Italian Opera. Despite a number of major changes in the company's structure and considerable fluctuations in expenditure levels, this proportion remained largely constant. A maximum of around 250 principal and secondary singers, dancers and musicians were engaged at the Royal Italian Opera each season. In addition, up to 100 extras for the chorus and corps de ballet were periodically employed for particular productions. Table 2 sets out the size of the individual departments.

Table 2.[169]

	singers	orchestra	dancers	chorus
1847	21	80[170]	46[171]	60[172]
1848	28	84	22	94: 40 women 54 men
1849	26	85	6[173]	94:[174] 40 women 54 men
1850	23	85-86	3	90[175]
1851	29	[85]	4	[90]
1852	27	86	11	[90]
1853	25	84	14	[90]
1854	25	[84]	10	[90]
1855	24	84	9	[90]

No total expenditure figures for artists' salaries have apparently been preserved for 1847. Only one individual artist's salary seems to have been recorded for that season; Marietta Alboni's initial salary of £500 was raised to £2,000 following her enormously successful debut in Semiramide.[176] In 1848, salaries for the vocal, orchestral and ballet department together amounted to £51,502 or 65% of the total expenditure.[177] Exceptionally high salaries for the principal singers, as well as the engagement of a large ballet company were the main reasons for this immense outlay. Given the huge gap between income and expenditure, reductions in this area were essential if the company was to survive the next season. Chiefly due to Gye's intervention, expenditure on artists' salaries decreased by almost £16,000, down to £35,568 in 1849.[178] This was achieved not so much through a reduction of salary levels, though some were indeed curtailed, but rather through alterations in the company's formation. Alboni, previously one of the star attractions of the Royal Italian Opera and engaged by Delafield at £4,000 in 1848, defected to

Her Majesty's and Pauline Viardot, engaged for the entire season in 1848 at £4,600 was now signed up for a more limited period of two months at £1,213; these changes alone resulted in savings of almost £7,500.[179] More important in the long-term was a draconian reorganization of the company which also affected the repertory structure.

At Gye's suggestion, which was made purely for financial rather than artistic reasons, the repertory at the Royal Italian Opera was to centre on opera alone and to exclude full-length ballets completely.[180] The ballet company was accordingly reduced to six distinguished soloists and probably a small corps de ballet, who performed only in the dances incidental to operas (Table 2). This represented a striking break with opera house traditions, by which ballet had formed an essential component of the repertory. The ballet at Her Majesty's had always been considered superior to that at the Royal Italian Opera, and the cost of competing with Lumley in this genre was probably simply too high.[181] In 1848 Delafield had expended £8,105 on dancers' salaries; the reduction of the ballet company in 1849 brought this figure down to £2,536 and undoubtedly also resulted in considerable savings in sets, costumes and properties for new ballets. Significantly, full-length ballets were reintroduced to the Royal Italian Opera only in 1853, one year after the closure of Her Majesty's. Yet even then the ballet company did not reach its former size and expenditure on salaries and production details was kept at a minimum (Table 2).[182]

Gye expended at least £20,000 to £25,000 on artists' salaries during the 1850s, which on average probably accounted for 50% to 55% of the total expenditure, a reduction of at least 10% as compared with Delafield's seasons of 1848 to 1849.[183] Payments to the orchestra and conductor made up around 20% of these expenses. Costa's annual salary varied between £1,100 and £1,300; he received a higher salary of £1,800 only in 1850.[184]

The Coutts ledgers record payments to the orchestra as a whole of between £3,500 and £5,750 from 1851 to 1855, although evidence suggests that the real figures were somewhat higher.[185] While the exact level of expenditure is unknown, it seems certain that Gye reduced the salaries of the orchestra as compared with those in 1848 and 1849, when the orchestra was paid a total of £10,048 and £7,398 respectively.[186] Costa resisted Gye's attempt in 1850 to curtail the size of the orchestra, but plans in 1851 to lower salary levels by a quarter over the previous year, in line with reductions made in other departments, were probably successful.[187] Few details have emerged concerning the pay structure. With an average of 85 musicians, most members of the orchestra conceivably earned between £50 and £60 per season, or £2 to £3 a week (Table 2).[188] Some principals, however, were paid considerably more; thus Bottesini (contrabass) was paid £250 and Piatti (violoncello) was offered £200 for the 1852 season.[189]

The company of the Royal Italian Opera included a chorus of 80 to 90 singers (Table 2). The total expenditure on salaries for chorus members is uncertain. A single payment of £150 recorded in the 1852 Coutts ledger almost certainly related to 42 additional singers hired for the production of Pietro il grande and suggests that these singers were paid between £3 and £4 for the four performances of that opera.[190] Contracts for the permanent chorus, which were usually negotiated alongside those for the orchestra, presumably differed from those for occasional artists. The lowest-tier soloists earned between £10 and £20 per month (Appendix 3); chorus members may accordingly have received even lower salaries. Signor Orsini, engaged as chorus master in 1851, was paid £30 per month.[191]

During Delafield's tenure, salaries for principal and secondary singers accounted for 42% and 47% of the total expenditure in 1848 and 1849 respectively: £33,349 in 1848 and £25,644 in 1849.[192] The Coutts ledgers

suggest that Gye was able to make considerable reductions in this area, as singers' salaries fell from around 42% of the total expenditure in 1851 to 36% in 1855.[193] In part this was achieved by cutting back the size of the company from 29 singers in 1851 to 24 in 1855 (Table 2). More importantly, however, Gye lowered salary levels for many principal and secondary singers by between 30% and 40%.[194]

In 1848, stars such as Grisi, Alboni, Mario and Ronconi earned between £450 and £670 per month; middle-ranking singers received monthly salaries of around £300, while the lowest grade singers were paid between £80 and £50 per month (Appendix 3). Roger, who received a total salary of £2,110 for six performances was the most highly paid singer of the company; in second place followed Viardot with a monthly salary of £1,150.[195] Forced to curb at least the most excessive of these salaries, Delafield engaged Viardot at a monthly salary of £607 in 1849.[196] Although she was thus still the highest paid artist of the company, her salary was now closer to those of other stars such as Grisi and Ronconi, who both earned £560 per month.[197] Nonetheless, such reductions were not made consistently, as some singers in fact secured an increase over the previous season; thus Persiani was paid £250 per month in 1849 instead of £106 in 1848 and Mario earned £544 in 1849 instead of £447 per month in 1848 (Appendix 3).

Under the Commonwealth of 1850, decisive attempts were made to bring expenditure on artists' salaries down to a more manageable level. The singers involved in the direction of the company agreed 'to make their salaries dependent on the receipts & to be paid after orchestra, chorus, rent &c'.[198] Although some nominal salaries were agreed upon, these principals, normally among the most expensive artists engaged for the Royal Italian Opera, were thus willing to forego a guaranteed fixed

salary.[199] This arrangement must conceivably have brought savings of several thousands of pounds. Yet it also jeopardised prestigious engagements, as some singers insisted on greater financial security than such a contract could offer.[200] Artists who did not form part of the Commonwealth committee were not bound by these conditions and continued to received fixed salaries. Little is known of the exact payments made to individual singers, as both the relevant Coutts ledger and Gye's diary rarely record such details.[201] The few extant figures suggest, however, that most fixed salaries were reduced by 20% to 30% over those paid in 1848 and 1849 and that nominal salaries were fixed just below the 1849 level (Appendix 3).[202]

The transition from the Commonwealth to a directorial organisation under Gye in 1851 initially posed considerable problems in the salary negotiations, especially with those artists who had formerly shared the management with him. Due to the continuing uncertainty over the managerial structure of the company, Gye was obliged to negotiate two differing contracts with many singers: one, which would apply should the Commonwealth arrangement be resumed, and the other, which would come into force if the company were headed by him alone. Artists such as Viardot, Grisi and Tamberlik were prepared to forego one third of their salary, if Gye were to become solely responsible.[203] On the other hand, many artists demanded advance payments and guarantees of minimum salaries under a new Commonwealth agreement, which was perceived as a much greater financial risk.[204] When Gye finally took over the management of the company, some singers attempted to use the apparent confusion generated by these complex negotiations to gain further concessions. Thus Gye was forced to renegotiate Viardot's contract, as her husband claimed that the salary originally agreed upon had been based on

the assumption that the Commonwealth would continue; drawing on a similar argument, Formes compelled Gye to increase his salary by £450.[205]

Gye's original plan, if he took on sole responsibility for the management of the Royal Italian Opera, was to reduce all singers' salaries by one third over the 1850 level. By the time the 1851 season had commenced, however, the only artists with whom he appears to have reached such an agreement were Grisi, Mario, Tamberlik and Costa (Appendix 3).[206] Whether Gye simply abandoned his earlier scheme, or whether he was ultimately unable to implement it consistently, is unclear. Yet as far as it is possible to ascertain, most other singers' salaries remained constant or indeed increased as compared with 1850, though they were generally still held well below those paid during the late 1840s (Appendix 3). The salary structure thus established in 1851 was to form the basis of payments until 1856 and was only gradually modified after the reopening of the new opera house in 1858.[207] Principal singers were normally paid between £300 and £550 per month, with sopranos and tenors at the upper end of the scale. Middle-ranking singers could expect to earn between £100 and £300, while those in the lowest grade were paid between £10 and £100 per month (Appendix 3). Gye veered from this scheme only in exceptional circumstances, when the particular prominence of a singers, the special demands made by a composer, or the threat of an artist defecting to Lumley's company forced him to pay higher salaries.[208]

At more than three times the average, the salaries paid to Grisi and Cruvelli in 1854 stand out most conspicuously (Appendix 3). Cruvelli was engaged for one month at a salary of £1,460; in addition, Gye agreed 'to give the exorbitant [sum] of 10,000 francs in lieu of the journey & house expenses'.[209] This clearly marked the upped limit of what Gye was willing and able to pay without jeopardising the company's quality and balance.

Resisting considerable pressure from Meyerbeer to engage Cruvelli for a longer period, Gye argued that he had already signed a contract with Viardot and could therefore 'not afford to take Cruvelli for 3 months as well as Formes'.[210] Furthermore, he had by this time already engaged Grisi at a similarly high salary of £2,500.[211] Gye had only agreed to her 'immense terms on account [of] being allowed to announce their [Grisi's and Mario's] last appearances in England' prior to their America tour and Grisi's retirement from the stage. Yet when Grisi and Mario returned to England the following season, Gye found that they had both signed an agreement with Beale up until the autumn of 1855.[212] Having failed to secure a contract with 'another distinguished artiste', probably Cruvelli, for that season, Gye

> applied to Madame Grisi to postpone for a short period her final retirement from the stage. Under these circumstances, Madame Grisi, with her accustomed kindness, consented to lend the Directors her invaluable assistance...[213]

Grisi's 'kindness', however, was gained at a considerable price, as Gye was forced to reimburse Beale for both her's and Mario's exceptionally high salaries. Beale received a total of at least £3,800 from Gye, which was almost certainly paid in lieu of the artists' salaries.[214] Grisi and Mario had agreed a combined salary of £2,400 with Beale for a five week engagement. Even though Gye initially refused to match this sum, the payments to Beale suggest that he eventually agreed to much the same terms for the two months during which these artists were to perform at the Royal Italian Opera.[215]

7) The Fire of 1856 and Its Aftermath

In the early hours of 5 March 1856 a fire, caused by a fireworks display presented during John Anderson's Bal masqué, destroyed the Royal Italian Opera. Anderson had hired the theatre for the pantomime season and had

only recently gained Gye's grudging, and later much regretted, permission to stage the ball.[216] Gye, at the time in Paris, was 'horror struck' on receiving the fatal telegram and at once returned to London to inspect the smouldering ruins of his theatre.[217] The fire could not have come at a worse time, as the opening of the season was only a few weeks away. Yet it is a mark of Gye's professionalism and determination, that he began to reschedule the 1856 season and to consider various schemes for the rebuilding of the theatre on the day of his arrival back in London. Within two weeks he had secured the nearby Lyceum for the coming season and had also made plans for a series of concerts at the Crystal Palace.[218] Many of the singers originally engaged for this season honoured their contracts and moreover accepted substantial pay cuts which Gye had imposed in order to make the season financially viable.[219]

Gye's company performed at the Lyceum for two seasons while the new opera house was being built. Funding for the building programme was obtained through loans from a number of "contributors", with repayment guaranteed over the next ten years and with options to lease stalls and boxes in the new theatre. The cumulative effect of these commitments were to be the principal source of financial difficulties throughout the 1860s and were only resolved by Gye during the early 1870s.[220] It is indicative of Gye's managerial abilities that he was able to expand his company's position as London's principal opera house despite the destruction of the theatre and despite the ensuing financial problems. Lumley, by contrast, was only temporarily able to reestablish a secure artistic basis for his company, as legal and financial problems with the landlord of Her Majesty's forced him to retire from opera management altogether in 1858.[221]

NOTES

[1]During the 1840s and 1850s, Drury Lane was used varyingly for English opera, concerts, plays, circuses and other theatrical entertainments (Survey of London, xxxv:25-27).

[2]The King's Theatre had been London's traditional Italian opera house since the mid-18th century, yet schemes for the establishment of a rival theatre had circulated in London throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries. The destruction of the King's Theatre by fire in 1789, for example, generated a series of plans to build a second opera house; for a detailed discussion see Italian Opera in Eighteenth-Century London, i:540-74; ditto, 'A Royal Opera House in Leicester Square (1790)', Cambridge Opera Journal, 2 (1990): 1-28; ditto, 'A Plan of the Pantheon Opera House (1790-92)', Cambridge Opera Journal, 3 (1991): 213-46. Jennifer Hall lists at least six proposals for rival schemes during the first two decades of the 19th century (172-73 and 198-200).

[3]Even managers of the King's Theatre had not always been able to rely on the routine renewal of their licence, see Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth Century London, i:359, 579 and chapter 8.

[4]'A plan of the Pantheon Opera House (1790-92)', 245.

[5]1832 Select Committee, 38, 47, 73, 104, 123; see also chapter six, note 26.

[6]Italian Opera In Late Eighteenth-Century London, i:576-79; 'A plan of the Pantheon Opera House, (1790-92)', 245. A scheme similar to the French model of restricting specific genres to individual theatres appears only to have been considered by Bunn in 1833-35; its potential benefits were rarely recognised, see for example Fitzball, i:85 and 1832 Select Committee, 54.

[7]Plans by the Italian impresario Alessandro Lanari to establish a second Italian opera house in London were abandoned in 1845, as no suitable sized theatre was available (Charles Lewis Gruneisen, The Opera and the Press (London: Robert Hardwicke, 1869) 6; Hall, 355-56).

[8]Laporte had initially offered little resistance to these artists' continuous violation of his managerial authority. When in 1840 Grisi, Persiani and Tamburini refused to sign their contracts without a guarantee that all three would be engaged, Laporte for once acted promptly and refused to re-engage Tamburini for the 1841 season; the ensuing riotous scenes at Her Majesty's eventually led to his resignation at the end of that season. For a detailed discussion of the so-called "Tamburini Riot", and in particular its socio-political significance, see Hall, 246-51; for a brief summary of events see Rosenthal, 65-66; see also Benjamin Lumley, Reminiscences of the Opera (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1864) 12-17). Jennifer Hall has been able to establish that, despite the title-page attribution, Lumley only wrote the footnotes and the preface to the Reminiscences. The main text was written primarily by Harriet Grote who had access to some of Lumley's papers but consulted him only sporadically. This document is therefore valuable only as an account by a contemporary opera enthusiast loyal to Her Majesty's (Hall, 228-29 and Appendix D).

[9]Costa had first been engaged as maestro al piano to the King's Theatre in 1830; he was appointed music director and conductor in 1833 (Rosenthal, 66). Costa maintained that his contract for Her Majesty's had not been renewed at the end of the 1845 season. Furthermore, when negotiations finally came under way in January 1846, Lumley had tried to impose conditions on Costa which he felt unable to accept and he had accordingly been forced to resign. Lumley on the other hand insisted that Costa had deserted him at the 'eleventh hour'. Against his expressed wishes, Costa had accepted the honourary appointment as conductor to the Philharmonic Society, he had tried to impose his own works on the repertory of Her Majesty's and had finally failed to give Lumley sufficient notice of his decision to resign (The Times, 29 and 30 Jan 1846; Reminiscences of the Opera, 133-34; see also Hall, 358; Ehrlich, 77).

[10]Carse, 183-85.

[11]See chapter four, p.218. Fanny Persiani, who had not performed at Her Majesty's for three years, returned to London to sing at the Royal Italian Opera.

[12]On 26 January 1846 the Morning Chronicle reported rumours that Costa and Giuseppe Persiani might take on the lease of Covent Garden (Hall, 355). It is unknown, whether Costa was aware of discussions between Charles Gruneisen, Galletti and Persiani concerning the establishment of a new opera house prior to his resignation (note 21; see also Reminiscences of the Opera, pp.134 and 140). If so, he may have been more willing and able to put a stop to his increasingly frustrating engagement at Her Majesty's. Frederick Gye repeatedly noted reports which confirmed that Covent Garden had been let and was to be transformed into an Italian opera house (9 March, 29 April, 10 July 1846, Gye Diaries). The new venture was not announced publicly before August (Morning Chronicle, 21 Aug 1846; Gruneisen, 6-7; Hall, 355).

[13]Lumley to the Lord Chamberlain [Earl Spencer], 27 Aug 1846, Entry Book of In-Letters, LC1/27 (1845-47), 2539, PRO.

[14]The agreement referred to by Lumley is most probably not the 1791 settlement between Covent Garden, Drury Lane and the King's Theatre, since no money was then apparently exchanged between the parties. A notice in the Musical World of 19 September 1846 furthermore recorded that such a settlement was reached 'a few years back...on which occasion the latter [ie. Lumley] gave a sum of £35,000, on condition of their [the patent theatres and Her Majesty's] binding themselves no longer to invade their respective rights'. I am grateful to Jennifer Hall for bringing this document to my attention; Hall suggests that this agreement may have been secured 'in response to the deregulation of the theaters in 1843' (236).

[15]Not all of Lumley's arguments stand up to thorough scrutiny. None of the foreign theatre companies listed by him was actually permanently resident in London; the apparent harmony at Her Majesty's deliberately left unmentioned the problems Lumley had had with Costa and the other artists throughout his tenure; and finally, neither Queen Victoria's regular visits to the opera nor the licence under which Her Majesty's operated guaranteed permanent Crown protection.

[16]The Lord Chamberlain received Lumley's letter on 28 August. A final verdict was apparently not reached before the end of December 1846 when the Lord Chamberlain was informed by the law officers that he had neither the power to grant a licence to, nor to forbid 'Italian Performances' at Covent Garden (Lord Chamberlain to Lumley, 28 Aug 1846, Entry Book of Out-Letters, LC1/48 (1843-46), 184, PRO; G.Grey [law officer] to the Lord Chamberlain, 29 Dec 1846, LC1/27, 2561).

[17]See also The Times, 8 Sept 1846.

[18]Rosenthal, 68. The source and precise date of this quotation remain unidentified.

[19]Royal Italian Opera Prospectus, [6 April 1847], with contemporary ink annotations, Theatre Museum London; Gruneisen, 6-7 and 9. Most standard reference works emphasise the disputes with Her Majesty's as the principal reason for the creation of the Royal Italian opera (Rosenthal, 66-68; Survey of London, xxxv:80; Grove, xi:163). See chapter four, pp.182-87, 215-18 for a discussion of the repertory and artistic policies.

[20]Given Gruneisen's self-important stance as a critic, his claim made in 1869 of having initiated the creation of the new venture ought to be treated with some caution (Gruneisen, 6, 8 and 50). In his introduction to the 1848 production of Les Huguenots Gruneisen praised 'the system proposed by the present liberal and indefatigable Lessee'; he remained curiously silent on his own possible involvement. By that time, Gye and Edward Delafield were in charge of the management, a fact which further weakens Gruneisen's later statement (Gruneisen, Memoir of Meyerbeer (London: T.Brettell, 1848) 20-21).

[21]25 Aug 1846, Gye Diaries; see also Rosenthal, 70; Heinz and Gudrun Becker, Giacomo Meyerbeer: Briefwechsel und Tagebücher, 4 vols (Berlin: Verlag Walter de Gruyter & Co, 1960-85) iv (1846-48):179 (6 Jan 1847). Saxe Wyndham reported that Persiani's involvement in the Royal Italian Opera was motivated partly by Lumley's refusal to stage one of his operas at Her Majesty's (ii:181-82). Such a dispute is not mentioned by Rosenthal or Paola Ciarlantini (who based her account largely on Rosenthal); if true, this may have been his opera Il fantasma of 1843 (Ciarlantini, Giuseppe Persiani e Fanny Tacchinardi (Ancona and Bologna: Il Lavoro Editoriale, 1988)). Galletti, whose background remains obscure, may temporarily have lived in Paris prior to his involvement with the Royal Italian Opera (16 July 1846, Gye Diaries). According to Gruneisen it was Galletti who initially contacted Persiani concerning the opera house proposal in 1845/46 (Gruneisen, 6; for a detailed account of these negotiations, see Hall, 355-56).

[22]Beale was introduced to Persiani and Galletti through the theatre's librettist Manfredo Maggioni. He was apparently 'free of all pecuniary liability', but later found himself liable for a substantial part of the theatre's debts; see p.75 (Willert Beale, The Light of Other Days seen through the wrong end of an opera glass, 2 vols (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1890) i:44-45; 14 July 1847, Gye Diaries). Beale signed himself 'directeur en chef' (Meyerbeer, iv:170-180 (6 Jan 1847)).

[23]10 Oct 1846, Gye Diaries; W.Beale, i:29; Hall, 359. According to a report in the Morning Chronicle Beale was only appointed manager once the bookseller John Mitchell had declined that post (15 Oct 1846).

[24]Gruneisen suspected that Lumley had effected his dismissal from the Morning Post in 1844 because of his negative reviews of performances at Her Majesty's; in 1847 Meyerbeer mentioned an unspecified legal challenge by Lumley against Gruneisen (Gruneisen, 9; Hall, 356-57; Meyerbeer, iv:219). Gye appeared to be ignorant of Gruneisen's exact function at the Royal Italian Opera in 1847, merely noting that '[Gruneisen] interferes very much in the C.Garden affair' (18 Dec 1847, Gye Diaries). For Gruneisen's involvement in the concern from 1848 onwards, see pp.77-78.

[25]Royal Italian Opera Prospectus, [6 April 1847]; see chapter four, pp.212-15 and chapter six, pp.300-301 and 313 for a discussion of Costa's duties as music director.

[26]Albano originally submitted three proposals for this project; the first would have brought the theatre's size in line with opera houses such as La Scala and San Carlo; the second was the one adopted; the third would merely have added a few boxes. The details of the alterations were first described in The Builder, 10 and 17 April 1847. For a summary see Survey of London, xxxv:97-8; a more comprehensive discussion can be found in Richard Leacroft, The Development of the English Playhouse, 2.edn. (London and New York: Methuen, 1988) 187-90.

[27]30 Nov 1847, Gye Diaries. Later reports stated incorrectly that clearance work had begun on 2 December; up to 1,200 were apparently employed on the construction site (The Illustrated London News, 6 Dec 1846; The Builder, 10 April 1847). The opera season should have commenced in February; at the end of December Gye noted that he thought it would be impossible to meet that deadline (28 Dec 1846, Gye Diaries).

[28]Average seating capacity was given varyingly as 2,255 (The Builder, 10 April 1847) and 2,243 (Survey of London, xxxv:98). The Survey of London estimated that additional standing room and extra seats in boxes could bring total capacity up to 4,000.

[29]The Builder, 10 April 1847; Survey of London, xxxv:98.

[30]Royal Italian Opera Prospectus, [6 April 1847]. See chapter four, pp.182-87 and 189 for a detailed discussion of the repertory.

[31]Morning Chronicle, 5 Jan 1847. Several musicians were also taken from Jullien's similarly excellent orchestra (Carse, 195). According to a report in the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik Lumley had lost almost his entire company to Persiani (14 Oct 1846, Meyerbeer, iv:539). See chapter four, p.215 on the formation and quality of the orchestra; see Table 2 (p.100) and chapter four, p.216 for the organisation of the Royal Italian Opera company.

[32]John Edmund Cox, Musical Recollections of the last half-century, 2 vols (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1872) ii:188; Rosenthal, 75.

[33]See below for an analysis of the income and expenditure resulting from the opera season.

[34]14 July 1847, Gye Diaries; W.Beale, i:45-46. Gye's account does not entirely clarify whether the £22,000 due to the builder Henry Holland was already included or was due in addition to the £32,000 expended on alterations and fittings. I have assumed them to be included as other sources correspond in calculating the total refurbishment costs at or below circa £30,000. According to Rosenthal, Albano set the cost for the 'building and painting' at less than £23,000, while that for 'fixtures including the chandelier and other glassware' was £4,000; rumours put the total expenses at between £40,000 to £75,000 (70).

[35]14 July 1847, Gye Diaries. An unidentifiable bank provided £2,500 and £2,000 was lent by the tenor Salvi. In a letter to Meyerbeer, Beale set the reconstruction costs at £18,000; at the time, the building work had, however, not been completed. He further claimed that 'A vast capital exceeding £80,000 sterling has been deposited for the purpose of coocking[sic] out our intentions' (Meyerbeer, iv:179 (6 Jan 1847)); as in several other English documents, this nonsensical transcription remains unexplained by the editors of the Meyerbeer correspondence. Part of this sum may have been secured by a letter of credit of £35,000, drawn by Persiani on Rothschild's Bank in 1846. Beale had suggested that £5,000 out of the £35,000 should 'be banked but to be kept to the credit of the undertaking'; the letter of credit later 'vanished' (W.Beale, i:45, 49). Beale subsequently told Gye that Galletti 'had never put a six pence in to the concern' (27 Aug 1847, Gye Diaries).

[36]28 Nov 1846, ibid.

[37]According to Gye, Holland had only been paid £10,000, while W.Beale estimated that the builder had received no more than £2,000 or £3,000 (14 July 1847, ibid.; W.Beale, i:49).

[38]Gye first noted on 10 July 1847 that the lessees would not invest any further money in the theatre and that Beale was attempting to gain control over the concern (Gye Diaries). The subsequent lengthy negotiations between Gye, the lessees, Beale and other interested parties are fully documented in Gye's diaries (10 July 1847 to 16 Feb 1848).

[39]23 July 1847, ibid. Mitchell insisted that he would only consider this project if Gye would agree to become his manager, which he did on 26 July.

[40]See pp.84-85.

[41]Gye broke off the negotiations on Mitchell's behalf on 2 September 1847 (Gye Diaries). Gye and Mitchell discussed similar plans annually from 1847 to 1852 and again in 1857 (see Gye Diaries for details).

[42]27 July 1847, ibid. Rosenthal incorrectly stated that both Persiani and Galletti 'vanished' (71). In fact Galletti remained in London throughout the summer, negotiating with Gye and others over the theatre's takeover. Persiani returned to London at the end of August (24 and 26 Aug 1847, Gye Diaries).

[43]13 to 16 Feb 1848, ibid. Negotiations commenced on 17 December 1847; the contract was signed on 16 February 1848. The date of 1851 cited by Robert Hume and Arthur Jacobs in the "London" entry of Opera Grove as the beginning of Gye's tenure is imprecise (iii:25). Rosenthal's reference

to Delafield as director and Gye as assisting him in the management contradicts contemporary terminology and is misleading in its definition of Gye's position (71 and Opera Grove, ii:586).

[44]Gye had assisted his father in the management of the Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens from around 1830 and had managed Jullien's promenade concerts at Covent Garden from 1843 to 1846 and his English opera season at Drury Lane in 1847. In these positions, Gye supervised all financial and administrative matters; he was also responsible for the design of the stage and auditorium decorations during the concert series (for details see Gye's diaries of 1843 to 1847).

[45]For a discussion of Gye's fraught relationship with Costa, see chapter four, pp.236-38; see also Ringel and Dideriksen, 22-23; Ringel, 239-42; and the correspondence between Gye and Costa in the Royal Opera House Archives, transcribed by Elizabeth Forbes in About the House, 2 (May 1968): 42-47.

[46]Delafield had procured the capital on the security of his future stake in his family's company. Within four years Delafield was to have realised £136,000 from his succession to the brewery. In September he had agreed to advance £16,000 on the opera concern, which was to pay off Beale's debts (13 Sept and 15 Dec 1847, Gye Diaries). Delafield was assigned Persiani's bills amounting to £8,000 and the properties of the theatre valued at £8,000. In return he 'was to pay the remaining £8,000 of the deficit as premium for the lease which was transferred to him' (W.Beale, i:59-60).

[47]It is unknown whether Webster had any previous experience in theatre management, though circumstantial evidence suggests not. He was one of the signatories to Gye's contract (16 Feb 1848, Gye Diaries).

[48]See for example, 24 Feb, 13 March, 25 April, 1 to 5 June 1848, ibid.

[49]Meyerbeer, iv:352, 358, 381 (8 and 22 Jan, 19 April 1848); 12 Jan 1848, Gye Diaries; Gruneisen, 13; see chapter four, p.206 and chapter six, pp.302-304, 313 and 327-30. In March 1848 Gruneisen went to Paris to engage Roger and Castellan for the Royal Italian Opera; in 1849 he travelled to Berlin in an attempt to persuade Henrietta Sontag to return to the stage and was sent to Paris to engage Salvi and Catherine Hayes. Gruneisen also wrote a draft prospectus for the 1849 season, in which he used parts of Gye's 1848 announcement; this version was, however, rejected and a new one written by Gye (20 and 24 March 1848, 6 and 7 Feb, 16 March 1849, Gye Diaries).

[50]23 Feb, 25 March, 21 June, 22 and 29 July 1848, 16 April 1849, ibid. By June 1848 Delafield was in danger of being declared bankrupt and in July an execution for rent was served on the theatre. On 25 July 1848 Gye was also presented with an entirely changed managerial structure, by which Delafield assigned full authority in all financial matters to Alfred Bunn (25 July 1848, ibid.) This contentious arrangement continued until the end of the 1848 season.

[51]13 Jan 1849, ibid. Only days before Delafield had tried to sell the entire concern for £30,000 (6 Jan 1849, ibid.).

[52]See for example, 16 and 21 April 1849, ibid.

[53]21 April and 16 May 1849, ibid. Delafield and Webster, having thus freed themselves of all responsibilities, fled to Brussels to escape their creditors; by this time they had been forced to mortgage their joint house twice over (8 Feb, 21 and 22 April 1849, ibid.). Delafield was declared bankrupt in July 1849 (Docket Book 1849, no.47, Registers of Commissions of Bankruptcy, Jan 1849-Oct 1849, B4/52, PRO; 13 and 14 July 1849, Gye Diaries).

[54]6 July 1849, ibid. Artists' salaries had gone unpaid in April, rent arrears had begun to accumulate and in July company members had finally been forced to accept a reduction of their salaries. Gye's own salary for 1848 had only been paid in part and on 2 May he was forced to accept a paycut of £600, receiving only £400 for the 1849 season (5 and 10 March, 16, 25, 27 April, 2 May, 3 July 1849, ibid.).

[55]25 July 1848, ibid.

[56]13 Sept 1847, ibid.

[57]Beale had determined to close the theatre mid-season, but resigned when his decision was vehemently opposed by Gye (14 July 1849, ibid.; Gruneisen, 13).

[58]Gye had first been approached by some of the singers at the beginning of May with the offer of accepting a share of receipts in lieu of their salaries, if only he would manage the opera house without Beale (7 May 1849, Gye Diaries). The idea of the 'joint stock concern' was put to Gye by Robertson on behalf of the proprietors on 9 June. A formal agreement between Gye and the principal artists was signed on 4 August. The term 'Commonwealth', under which this scheme was subsequently known, first appears in Gye's diary entry of 14 June 1849.

[59]16 July 1849, ibid. The husbands of both Viardot and Castellan appear also to have been involved in the Commonwealth, though their exact position is not clarified in the Gye Diaries.

[60]16 and 17 July 1849, ibid. The lease is dated 24 September, though it was apparently not signed before 1 November (Lease Agreement between Frederick Gye and the Proprietors of Covent Garden, 24 Sept 1849, framed item, ROHA; 1 Nov 1849, Gye Diaries; Knox v. Gye, The Answer of Frederick Gye, 14 Sept 1861, C16/31/K27, PRO).

[61]Gye to Knox, 10 Feb 1851, transcribed in Knox v. Gye, Bill of Complaint, C16/31/K27, 3, PRO.

[62]26 June 1850, Gye Diaries. Gye noted four full-scale meetings, three of which were concerned with the accounts of the theatre; at least another two meetings were held at which two-thirds of the Commonwealth were present (21 May, 26 and 28 June, 19 and 27 Aug, 3 Sept 1850, ibid.).

[63]On 18 September 1849 an agreement was signed by which Gye undertook not to terminate the lease without the consent of Mario and Costa (ibid.).

[64]See for example, 10 Jan, 17 April 1850, ibid; see also chapter four, pp.212-15.

[65]30 Jan 1850, Gye Diaries.

[66]C16/31/K27, The Answer of Frederick Gye, 2. Almost certainly Gye here referred to more than the usual squabbles between his artists. His 1850 diary suggests that it was Mario's attempt to raise some of the principals' salaries which caused not only a serious row with Costa, but also influenced Gye's decision to 'take the whole thing' (1 and 3 Sept 1850).

[67]29 June and 17 July 1850, Gye Diaries. Gye had earlier that year angrily refused an offer by Lumley to buy him out of the concern 'in case of the artistes at Covent Garden coming to a rupture' (18 and 23 Feb 1850, ibid.).

[68]30 Aug and 7 Sept 1850, Gye Diaries. Friction first arose between Gye and Knox in 1853, when Knox fiercely criticised the apparent inadequacy of the company's account books and charged Gye with trying to oust him from the company. Gye nevertheless remained on friendly terms with Knox until the late 1850s and continued to seek his advice in fiscal and artistic matters. Knox was forced to withdraw his projected financial contribution to the rebuilding of the opera house in 1857 when he failed to secure the necessary capital. The two lawsuits he brought against Gye in 1861 and 1865 respectively were intended firstly to determine whether his involvement with the Royal Italian Opera constituted a formal partnership and secondly, to force the repayment of his investment from the profits of the theatre - a benefit Knox had previously declined. Both actions were eventually resolved in Gye's favour (21 Sept, 15 Dec 1853, 13 and 14 Jan, 26 Feb, 28 and 31 March 1854, 12 Aug, 18 Sept, 18 Nov 1857, 10 Feb 1858, 8 July 1872, ibid.; C16/31/K27, Bill of Complaint, articles 17 to 20 and 28, and Answer of Frederick Gye, articles 14, 22 to 25; Knox v. Gye, Judgment, House of Lords, C57/M55, 19, PRO).

[69]10 March 1851, Gye Diaries; C16/31/K27, Answer of Frederick Gye, articles 6 to 8. Gye was forced to accept liability for half of De Bathe's potential losses, as he otherwise threatened to pull out of the concern. The capital was obtained through a loan from Coutts and Co upon the security of Knox, De Bathe and Gye (12 March 1851, Gye Diaries; C16/31/K27, Answer of Frederick Gye, article 6; Coutts & Co, ledgers, 15 March 1851, 6 March 1852).

[70]10 March 1851, Gye Diaries. Webb received at least £100 in profit shares for the 1851 and £180 for the 1852 season, after which he discontinued his direct financial support for the concern (25 March, 2 Aug 1852, ibid.). De Bathe relinquished his 1851 profit share, when the extent of the 1852 losses became clear; he ended his direct financial involvement with the Royal Italian Opera after 1851, but continued to provide occasional short term loans and acted a mediator for Gye in financial matters, in particular during the dispute with Knox (18 Feb, 8 Nov 1852, 14 Jan, 14 Dec 1854, 14 Aug 1858, 4 Jan 1859, ibid.; C16/31/K27, Answer of Frederick Gye, article 9). Although Whiting severed his financial links with the venture after only one season, he appears to have received further profit share payments until at least 1855 totalling £1,368 (Coutts ledgers, 1851-1855; 23 Sept, 5 Nov 1853, Gye Diaries). Knox repeatedly insisted on the disinterested nature of his investment and refused 'any share of profit & said he should be too happy to see me get it all' (7 Sept 1850, see also 30

Aug 1850, 24 July 1852, 31 March 1854, ibid.; C16/31/K27, Answer of Frederick Gye, 5 and Bill of Complaint, 2).

[71]7 Sept, 11 Nov 1850, 28 March 1851, 2 and 18 March, 1 April, 31 May, 29 Sept, 26 Nov 1852, 14, 17 and 24 Jan, 22 Aug 1853, 3 and 14 Jan, 3 and 12 Feb 1854, 31 March, 28 Dec 1855, 16 Jan 1856, Gye Diaries; 13 March 1856, Gye Travel Diary; C16/31/K27, Bill of Complaint, article 4.

[72]29 Dec 1852, 4, 19 and 22 Jan, 11 Feb, 21 April, 6 July, 8 Aug 1853, Gye Diaries; C16/31/K27, Bill of Complaint, article 12 and Answer of Frederick Gye, article 10. Thistlethwayte may have invested only circa £11,000 in the concern, as his actual inheritance was lower than anticipated (ibid., Answer of Frederick Gye, article 11; 24 Aug 1853, Gye Diaries). Due to the continuing financial problems of the company, Thistlethwayte considered withdrawing from the Royal Italian Opera in 1854. He died in the Crimea in December 1854, leaving his share in the opera house to Gye and Knox (24 Aug, 7 Nov 1853, 26 Feb, 4, 27 and 31 March, 21, 24 and 26 June, 14 Dec 1854, ibid.; C16/31/K27, Bill of Complaint, articles 26 to 29 and Answer of Frederick Gye, articles 16 to 32).

[73]Starting on 16 November 1851, the full details of these extensive negotiations can be found in Gye's diaries of 1851 to 1855; see pp.84-85 for the finances of Her Majesty's. Mitchell's plan first proposed in 1847 was frequently revived, although after 1851 Gye considered joining Mitchell only as an equal partner rather than, as previously proposed, an employee (see for example 2 July 1851, Gye Diaries; see note 39). Another scheme considered by Gye and others was to amalgamate the two London opera houses and to link the new venture with the Théâtre Italien in Paris (28 July 1850, 18 March 1853, Gye Diaries); for similar plans developed after 1856, see Dideriksen and Ringel, 8 and Ringel, 94-95.

[74]In addition to raising the asking price for the lease on several occasions, Lumley also tried to secure the future of Her Majesty's as an opera house in order to satisfy the theatre's large number of property box holders (see p.90); see for example, 1, 11 and 20 Dec 1851, Gye Diaries. Gye consistently refused to be bound to any particular theatre for the production of Italian opera, but seems eventually to have consented to a secret agreement, by which he would give 50 opera performances at Her Majesty's each season (1 March, 9 July 1852, ibid.). Despite this agreement, it seems that Gye's real intention was to close Her Majesty's once he had gained control (Lumley v. Hughes, C15/49/L/89, Bill of Complaint, 3 Nov 1853, article 50, PRO; 1 March 1852, Gye Diaries).

[75]1, 2 and 20 Dec 1851, ibid. Gye for example described Lumley as 'a devil incarnate - the most dreadful rascal with the smoothest face & manner I ever in the whole course of my life met', while Lumley threatened to 'crush me [Gye] & Covent Garden too!!!', when Gye refused to give in to his terms (25 Dec 1851, 18 Feb 1852, ibid.).

[76]52 Jan 1853, ibid.; C15/49/L/89, article 50. It took Gye several years to recover the £5,000 paid to Hughes on 31 March 1853 as an advance on the first year's rent of Her Majesty's; Gye also paid the fire insurance premium of £400 to Martelli, the ground landlord of Her Majesty. Hughes instigated several lawsuits against Lumley for nonpayment of debts, and he and Martelli later commenced separate ejectment procedures against Lumley (30 March, 6 April 1853, 25 Jan, 10 Feb, 7 Dec 1855, Gye Diaries; 1853 Coutts

ledger, 31 March, 8 April 1853; C16/31/K27, Bill of Complaint, articles 20 and 21; C15/49/L/89, articles 52 to 54).

[77]For a discussion of their artistic rivalry, see chapter four, pp.197-98, 205-10 and 222-24.

[78]13 Sept 1847, Gye Diaries; W.Beale, i:58; The Times, 7 Sept 1849, bankruptcy proceedings of E.Delafield, copy of the balance sheet 7 Nov 1845 to 13 July 1849.

[79]On 3 September 1850 Gye recorded 'a surplus of about £3,800 to divide among the principal artistes & myself after paying every other expense' (see also 19 Aug 1850, Gye Diaries). The Coutts ledger for 1850 is incomplete and consequently of limited value in determining the outcome of this season (see p.86).

[80]C16/31/K27, Bill of Complaint, 4; according to Gye this sum was reduced to circa £2,200 after the deduction of payments, possibly as part of their profit share, to the proprietors, Grisi and Mario (ibid., The Answer of Frederick Gye, 8); see p.79.

[81]C16/31/K27, Answer of Frederick Gye, 10. Although the 1852 Coutts ledger showed no such deficit, the total transactions on the account were around £10,000 to £15,000 lower than in previous or subsequent years (see pp.86-87). For a discussion of the Wagner affair, see chapter four, pp.223-25.

[82]C16/31/K27, Answer of Frederick Gye, 11; Gye to Knox, 7 Feb 1855, transcribed in ibid., Bill of Complaint, 11. The profits for 1854 probably included income from a provincial tour in September for which Gye had agreed to lend some of his principal artists to Willert Beale; according to Gye 'profits on the R.I.O. season were about £2,200 besides about £300 on the tournée' (2 and 3 Oct 1854, Gye Diaries).

[83]8 Feb 1856, ibid. According to Knox, Gye had declared a profit for 1855, but Gye's Answer to the Bill of Complaint, his diary entry above, and the 1855 Coutts ledger make clear that he neither reported nor had any profit during this season; the Coutts ledger unusually showed a substantial deficit of £2,328 (C16/31/K27, Bill of Complaint, 12 and Answer of Frederick Gye, 33).

[84]See Dideriksen and Ringel, 9; Ringel, 88-91.

[85]A detailed study of the finances of Her Majesty's Theatre during the 1840s and 1850s was beyond the scope of this research project and did not form part of Jennifer Hall's thesis. A full evaluation of the various lawsuits which ensued from the collapse of Lumley's management in 1853 would almost certainly yield further such details (see p.82). From 1850 to 1852, Lumley also managed the Théâtre Italien in Paris; he apparently made total losses of nearly £20,000 during that period (Hall, 242; Reminiscences of the Opera, 325).

[86]23 July 1847, Gye Diaries; The Times, 22 Feb 1854 [report on Lumley v. Gye and Wagner].

[87]See for example, 19 March 1848, 18 July 1849, 21 Feb, 3 June 1850, 15 and 31 May, 18 June, 2 July, 22 Dec 1852, Gye Diaries.

[88]The Times, 22 Feb 1854 [Lumley v. Gye and Wagner].

[89]18, 10 and 23 Dec 1852, 2, 25 and 27 Jan, 13 and 20 Feb, 3, 11 and 12 March 1853, Gye Diaries. Lumley had already announced his resignation from the position as manager in The Times of 3 July 1852, but was able to hold on to the lease until the following January. His 'pecuniary embarrassments' were apparently 'chiefly caused by his said liabilities' to W.S.P. Hughes (C15/49/L/89, article 51). Already in March 1852, one of Lumley's trustees, Lord Lonsdale, had threatened to withdraw financial support for the concern and thereby to force Lumley into bankruptcy (31 March 1852, Gye Diaries). By March 1853, an execution for taxes loomed and Lumley's lawyer was owed £1,400 in fees (3 March, 15 April 1853, ibid.).

[90]On 4 July 1854 Gye was told that 'it wd. take £80,000 to clear the theatre [Her Majesty's] of liabilities besides the property boxes' (ibid.); this sum had risen to £90,000 by 1856 (7 March 1856, Gye Travel Diary).

[91]Additional small income came from the rent for the opera house refreshment and cloak rooms, varying between £200 and £315 per season, and from the privilege sold to the printer of selling the libretti, which usually brought £500 per season (8 and 15 March 1849, 1 Feb and 5 March 1850, 13 March 1851, 30 March 1855, Gye Diaries). The occasional hire of the theatre for concert series and English opera during the winter months, as well as the loan of singers to organisers of concerts and provincial tours provided further irregular income (see for example 16 June 1848, 3 Oct 1854, ibid.).

[92]The maximum box office average has been calculated from receipts above £500, which Gye frequently described as 'capital' or 'immense'. Receipts for benefit nights, state visits and morning concerts have been omitted from this estimate. For subscriptions, see the figures given below for 1847-48 and 1852.

[93]Given the nature of the primary sources reliable total income figures can only infrequently be established. Although the Coutts ledgers apparently provide a full account of the income and expenditure for Gye's management after 1858, they are clearly incomplete for the years 1850 to 1856 (Ringel, 288 and Table 6). Comparison with Gye's diaries has shown that neither expenditure nor income were channelled through the Coutts account in their entirety during these earlier years. Instead Gye appears to have held back funds for the day to day running of the company which thus do not appear in the ledgers. Also, Gye was careful not to go overdrawn and accordingly kept a steady flow of income on the account to balance the expenditure. The end of the Coutts fiscal year on 24 June, as well as my own calculations based on the calendar year, therefore typically show a more or less neutral balance which does not usually reflect the overall financial outcome of the seasons.

[94]14 July 1847, Gye Diaries; W.Beale, i:47 and 58. As early as mid-February most of the boxes had apparently already been let to either booksellers or private patrons (12 Feb 1847, Gye Diaries). The level of income is all the more remarkable given the pricing strategy of the new

venture; ticket prices were deliberately held below those of Her Majesty's Theatre (Hall, 353, 371-72 and Appendix B). Jennifer Hall has shown that attendance at both opera houses was considerably higher during 1847, than it had been at Her Majesty's during the early 1840s (388-89).

[95]The Times, 7 Sept 1849 [bankruptcy proceedings]. Receipts dropped even though, at 72 opera nights, this was to be the longest season until 1856.

[96]On 19 July 1848, one day before the Queen's state visit to Covent Garden, Gye noted that 'the sale of boxes is[?] very slack[?] and the high prices against which I argued so strongly, much too high' (Gye Diaries). Similarly, in 1849 Beale temporarily introduced lower playhouse prices against Gye's advice (29 May 1849, ibid.).

[97]The Times, 7 Sept 1849. Receipts from subscriptions and the box office during the final two months of the 1849 season, conducted under the Commonwealth, were not included in these figures. Income during that period was just sufficient to cover the basic running costs of the theatre and to pay most of the artists and staff (21 and 28 July 1849, Gye Diaries).

[98]16 and 20 July, 18 Sept 1849, ibid.

[99]The 1850 account at Coutts was held jointly by Gye and the theatre's treasurer Henry Robertson; see pp.92-93 for the 1850 expenditure.

[100]5 June 1852, Gye Diaries. By 5 June 1852 Gye had apparently not received the full subscription and it is unclear whether the outstanding sums were ever paid. The Coutts ledger for 1852 shows a particularly low income figure of £32,991; Gye may accordingly not have been paid the outstanding subscription, or a substantial amount of his income did not pass through the account. His diary suggests that some payments were drawn directly from the evenings' receipts.

[101]Gye, as Lumley, was forced to make reductions on the payments agreed with several booksellers following the cancellation of Johanna Wagner's performances (7, 11 and 12 May 1852, 8 and 10 Feb 1854, ibid.). Later in 1852 season some of the booksellers, for reasons unspecified by Gye, refused to pay their full subscription; although an agreement was reached, Gye may have had to concede some of the subscription to achieve the settlement (19 and 20 Aug 1852, ibid.).

[102]3, 30 and 31 Aug 1852, ibid. The 'Three nights at Reduced Prices' were mounted in direct opposition to a similar series presented at Her Majesty's earlier that month (2 Aug 1852, ibid; The Times, 30 Aug 1852).

[103]C16/31/K27, Answer of Frederick Gye, 10. In December 1851 Gye had agreed with the proprietors of Covent Garden 'that the amount of receipts after which the Propts. of C.G. are to share profits of last year should be increased to £44,200' (5 Dec 1851, Gye Diaries). As there is no indication in either the Coutts ledger or Gye's diary that they ever received any substantial sums during the 1852 season, it would seem that receipts did not rise above that sum.

[104]The 1851 Coutts ledger, the first to be kept under Gye name alone, commenced on 15 March for income and 21 March for expenditure; one must therefore assume that some of the booksellers' and private patrons' subscriptions, normally collected at the beginning of March, were not entered into the account. Although evidence suggests that the Coutts ledgers for 1853 to 1855 are also incomplete, these documents do indicate a minimum level of income higher than that in 1850 or 1852.

[105]Dideriksen and Ringel, 10.

[106]Significantly, the financial problems at Her Majesty's and Lumley's constant scheming against the Royal Italian Opera did bring Gye the indirect backing of the Lord Chamberlain. In 1853 he 'refused to give a license to Lumley ... for Her Majesty's Theatre - & should give it to no one until it was decided who legally had the theatre' (13 April 1853, Gye Diaries). After the fire in 1856, the Lord Chamberlain was prepared to lend his support even more overtly by declaring that Lumley would not be granted a licence for Her Majesty's should Gye build a new opera house (7 March 1856, Gye Travel Diaries).

[107]Hall, 390-92. The Royal Italian Opera had initially advertised its intention to attract a larger section of the middle classes through lower prices and various changes to the repertory; by the late 1850s the middle classes increasingly formed the backbone of audiences at both opera houses (ibid, 48-49, 353). For a detailed analysis of the audiences at both Her Majesty's and the Royal Italian Opera, see ibid., 386-403.

[108]Hall, 398-403; see chapter four, pp.183-87 and note 22. Jennifer Hall does, however, point out that 'Party politics per se cannot explain the political differences between the two audiences... In cultural terms, conservatives and certain factions among the Whigs would have been likely to uphold an institution such as Her Majesty's Theater, which for nearly a century and a half had served as a meeting place for the elite... Radical reformers... may have been attracted to Covent Garden because of its attempts to reform the opera and to rebel (at least in the initial announcements) against aristocratic exclusiveness' (401-402).

[109]Jennifer Hall has provided an extensive comparison of audiences at Her Majesty's and the Royal Italian Opera for 1847, but has not discussed later seasons in similar detail (388-402).

[110]ibid., 390.

[111]Most prominently, Lord Ward and Lord Lonsdale were notoriously volatile in their financial and moral support. The unpredictability of their interference in the financial and artistic management of both theatres, as well as the potential magnitude of their sponsorship compelled Gye and Lumley to seek their patronage especially (8 Feb, 31 March, 28 Aug 1852, 7 April 1853, 30 May 1854, 24 April 1856, Gye Diaries; 27 Jan 1851, 6, 8 and 11 March 1856, Gye Travel Diary). Lord Ranelagh became a more dependable ally of Gye from 1852 onwards; he took on a particularly important role as mediator during the lengthy negotiations between Gye and Lumley in 1852, on a number of occasions offered Gye financial support and was later consulted extensively during the rebuilding of the opera house in 1856 (see for example, 8 Feb, 20 Nov 1852, Gye Diaries; 8 and 13 March 1856, Gye Travel Diary).

[112]14 March 1849, 20 March 1850, 8 Feb, 11 and 31 March, 22 May, 13 July 1852, 11 May 1853, 17 July 1856, Gye Diaries; 8 March 1856, Gye Travel Diary.

[113]Hall, 33. Gye dealt with many of these subscribers in person and was often forced to make significant concessions in the number and price of boxes and stalls in order to retain their subscriptions (see for example 14 March 1849, 15, 18 and 27 March 1850, Gye Diaries).

[114]The Queen attended 27 performances at Her Majesty's in 1847, as opposed to nine at the Royal Italian Opera (Hall, 396). The 1847 season presents a peak in the number of opera visits by Queen Victoria. In later seasons she would usually attend a maximum of eight performances at either theatre.

[115]ibid; see also George Rowell, Queen Victoria Goes to the Theatre (London: Paul Elek, 1978) 68-69. From 1850 onwards, Queen Victoria attended up to five more performances per season at the Royal Italian Opera as compared with Her Majesty's; I have based these and other calculations concerning the repertory of Her Majesty's on a complete list of performances at Her Majesty's (1847-56) kindly made available to me by Jennifer Hall. Hall has calculated that after 1849 and until 1861 the Queen paid a total of 37 visits to Her Majesty's and 78 to the Royal Italian Opera.

[116]See chapter four, pp.197-98. The distinct difference in the rival theatres' repertories was clearly a determining factor also in the general audience's preference for either opera house, an issue which is only briefly explored by Jennifer Hall (403).

[117]ibid., 397-98.

[118]The State visit in 1848 brought the Royal Italian Opera £1,250 in box office receipts, while that of 1855 brought Gye 'upwards of £2,800.-' (20 July 1848, 19 April 1855, Gye Diaries). State visits in the 1860s attracted similar sums (Ringel, 43).

[119]See chapter four, pp.197-99; Ringel, 43.

[120]7 and 8 March, 24 June 1856, Gye Diaries. Queen Victoria attended only one performance at Her Majesty's in 1856; after 1861, when the Queen had ceased to attend public performances, Gye made even greater concessions to the Prince of Wales (Dideriksen and Ringel, 10; Ringel, 222-23).

[121]The purchase of a box or stall seat guaranteed the owner free entry to an unlimited number of opera performances. Lumley had financed the purchase of the lease of Her Majesty's at £110,000 in 1845 principally through the sale of such boxes and stalls (24 and 30 March, 20 Dec 1852, Gye Diaries; Hall, 241). Patrons may have paid up to circa £3,300 for a box; Sir Ralph Howard had apparently paid £10,000 for three boxes at Her Majesty's (20 March 1850, Gye Diaries).

[122]17 Nov 1851, 20 Dec 1852, 8 July 1853, 25 June 1856, ibid. Lumley's lease apparently stipulated that he was not allowed to sell more than 41 boxes; surprisingly, even Lumley's solicitors were uncertain of the precise figures (13 May 1852, 11 Dec 1852, ibid.). The property box and stalls seats agreements remained in force until well into to 1860s (Ringel, 99-

100).

[123]In total Lumley had received advances of £10,000 of which Lord Ward alone had contributed £3,500 (28 Aug and 23 Dec 1852, ibid.). Two years earlier Gye had been told by Mitchell that 'Lumley was getting weaker & weaker in money matters, & mortgaging more of his boxes & stalls' (21 Feb 1850, ibid.).

[124]The number of boxes at Her Majesty's is varyingly given as 177 and 237 (Survey of London, xxix:243; Ringel, 99). Jennifer Hall has calculated that the boxes accounted for 35% and the pit and stalls seats for 33% of the total audience in 1826 (375).

[125]The Royal Italian Opera did, however, have to accommodate the original shareholders of the playhouse company whose number had risen from 152 in 1822 to 177 in 1849 (1849 Lease, article 3; see also Appendix 2, article 3). While no admittance rights may originally have been granted for the playhouse, they 'had a right to go to the un-reserved places viz: the pit & gallery' at the Royal Italian Opera and were given priority in box reservations for the Lyceum after the 1856 fire (30 July 1855, 14 March 1856, Gye Diaries). In addition, the proprietors, the Duke of Bedford as the landlord and other private box holders were entitled to a significant number of free tickets (1849 Lease, article 2; Appendix 2, articles 11 and 12).

[126]It is unclear whether the shares which Persiani and Galletti had tried to sell in 1846 were related to property boxes (see p.75). The only mention Gye made of any such arrangements in his diaries was on 23 July 1852, when he visited a Miss Bellew, who 'wanted to buy a freehold box at Covent Garden - I said I feared I could not sell one for more than the time I had the theatre for... - she has a grand tier property box share[?]'. Despite Gye's tendency to issue boxes and stalls seats in exchange for debt waivers after the reopening of the theatre in 1858, the most he ever parted with then appears to have been eight boxes and 22 stalls (13 May 1873, Gye Diaries).

[127]18 Feb and 20 Dec 1852, 10 Feb and 25 June 1856, ibid. The property box and stalls seats holders contemplated the suspension of their support for Lumley only in 1852 as Gye was negotiating the take-over of Her Majesty's. These particular negotiations, however, failed, as the property box and stall holders insisted on a transfer of Gye's opera company to Her Majesty's in order to preserve their financial interests (16 and 18 Dec 1852, 11 May 1853, ibid.).

[128]A specific study of the attendance levels of the property box and stalls seats holders was beyond the scope of this study and was not undertaken by Jennifer Hall.

[129]13 March 1849, 9 March 1850, 3 April 1854, ibid. Booksellers do not normally appear to have been assigned a specific clientele amongst whom they were to sell their tickets, though in 1849 Gye appointed Mr Prowse 'City agent for sale of boxes &c' (13 March 1849, ibid.). Special terms were usually agreed for state visits and other exclusive occasions, when the advertised prices could be almost 50% higher than those paid to Gye by the booksellers (7 Aug 1854, 14 and 19 April 1855, ibid.; see also Ringel, 38-39).

[130]19 Feb 1849, 14 March 1851, 3 Aug 1852, 10 Feb 1854, Gye Diaries. Gye would, however, not make such concessions indiscriminately and would rather lose a subscription than agree to unjustifiable allowances. In 1854, for example, Gye refused to compensate a bookseller for financial losses incurred indirectly through the Wagner affair; that bookseller subsequently gave up his subscription for the 1854 season (29 to 31 March 1854, ibid.).

[131]11 March 1850, 5, 6, and 8 April 1853, ibid. In later years, Mitchell increased his annual subscription to between £9,000 and £11,000 (Ringel, 38).

[132]13 April, 31 May 1852, 8, 10 and 15 Feb 1854, Gye Diaries. Mitchell's contract with Lumley was for 65 nights at £15,000. Due to the cancellation of Wagner's and Sontag's appearances, however, the agreement was terminated prematurely and Lumley received a reduced subscription of £11,200 plus an unspecified sum for the remaining nights of the season. Mitchell apparently lost £700 per week at Her Majesty's during 1852.

[133]In 1852 Mitchell advanced Lumley £9,000 out of his total subscription of £15,000; he offered Gye advances ranging from a few hundred pounds in 1850, to £1,000 or £2,000 in 1854 (12 March 1850, 31 May 1852, 8 Feb 1854, ibid.). In later years, Mitchell also provided Gye with short-term loans (Ringel, 39). See pp.75-76 and note 73 for Mitchell's involvement in opera management.

[134]See chapter four, p.211.

[135]Expenditure at Her Majesty's was probably similarly high, as Gye's diary entry of 18 September 1850 suggests: 'This morning I called on Col Knox - he told me Mitchell had shown him a letter from Attwood the banker placing £40,000 at his command if he took Her Majesty's theatre'.

[136]See pp.74-75.

[137]The Times, 7 Sept 1849. The following figure for 1849 has also been drawn from this source.

[138]Most expenses were listed simply as 'Sundries' in the 1850 Coutts ledger.

[139]7 Sept 1850, Gye Diaries.

[140]The Coutts ledger of 1852 records payments to Gye's solicitor George Tamplin of only £200, though the numerous consultations and court appearances necessitated by Lumley's injunction would have incurred much higher fees; similarly, the 1853 Coutts ledger lists only a single payment of £5 5s to Tamplin, despite Lumley's lawsuit against Gye. The 1854 Coutts ledger records total payments to Tamplin of £2,212.

[141]See pp.95-96 and note 76.

[142]See chapter four, pp.190-91.

[143]Charles Kemble's consternation over the transformation of the former playhouse into an opera house is conveyed in a statement he reportedly made when first viewing the altered stage and auditorium in 1847: 'But we let you Covent Garden Theatre - what the devil have you done with it?' (Fitzball, i:86).

[144]The Times, 18 March 1856. The 1846 lease may have been taken out for a term of three years; an execution on the rent in September 1847 suggests that only part of it was paid ((9 March 1846, 13 and 24 Sept 1847, Gye Diaries). Rosenthal, without citing a source, reported that Persiani and Galletti 'purchased the lease of Covent Garden for £35,000' (68). Although this might refer to the letter of credit drawn upon by Persiani (note 35), the exact nature of this immense sum, if it was indeed paid, is unclear since previous lessees had not 'purchased' the lease in addition to paying an annual rent. Until the early 1850s, the rent for Her Majesty's appears to have been double that charged at Covent Garden; after that theatre's closure in 1852, rent proposals were brought down to the Covent Garden level (20 March 1850, 17 Nov 1851, 3 March, 27 April 1853, 25 Jan 1855, 19 May 1856, Gye Diaries).

[145]22 and 25 July 1848, 19 April 1849, Gye Diaries. During bankruptcy proceedings, rent arrears were given as £1,737 (The Times, 7 Sept 1849).

[146]27 April 1849, ibid.

[147]1849 Lease, article 4; see also 11 July 1849, Gye Diaries. The 1849 lease is currently only partially accessible due to its extremely fragile state of conservation; a full transcription was therefore not possible.

[148]16 May, 5 Nov, 6 Dec 1851, 4 March 1852, ibid. During the intervening years, some modifications were introduced to the 1849 agreement, which seem to have secured the proprietors a larger share of profits (4 and 5 Dec 1851, ibid).

[149]5 Dec 1851, 28 and 29 Sept 1852, 14 April 1853, ibid. In February 1852 Gye threatened to move his company to Her Majesty's if a more advantageous rent agreement could not be reached, but the proprietors apparently remained resolute (23 Feb 1852, ibid).

[150]1851 Coutts ledger. Gye records no arrears in rent for the seasons of 1850 and 1851.

[151]3 June, 10 July 1852, 5, 8 and 27 July 1853, Gye Diaries. The Coutts ledgers record only three payments to the proprietors in 1852 and 1853: £250 on 26 March 1852, £250 on 31 March 1853 and £250 on 15 April 1853. Gye's diaries suggest, that he paid substantially more during these years. Rent arrears of £500 were still due on the 1853 season in 1854, when the proprietors ordered Robertson 'to stop the rent due on 1853 season out of the receipts of the 1st night this season' (3 April 1854, ibid.). The Coutts ledger lists total payments to the proprietors of £3,793 in 1854; at least £500 in rent, presumably for the 1854 season, was overdue in January 1855 (18 Jan 1855, ibid.). The following quotation is taken from 8 July 1853, ibid.

[152]For details of the protracted lease negotiations, see Gye's diaries from April 1853 to July 1854.

[153]10 May 1853, ibid. Knox may also have had some influence on Gye's acceptance, as he urged Gye to compromise by negotiating a long lease at a comparatively low rent 'at my option to give up every year but allowing them to put an end to the lease if I did not give an Italian Opera' (22 and 25 Aug 1853, ibid.). Gye's negotiations for Her Majesty's in 1852 had collapsed, when Lumley had tried to impose similar restrictions on the use of Her Majesty's (note 74).

[154]Gye had earlier tried to negotiate a different procedure: 'I maintained that they had no right now to insist on a joint treasurer being appointed - nor was it necessary - all they ought in any case to require that[sic] they should have the power to put in a receiver on my default of payment' (3 April 1854, Gye Diaries). Whether this clause also formed part of the 1849 agreement is unclear (see note 147).

[155]See chapter one, p.28. In 1850 Robertson was engaged by Gye as treasurer at an annual salary of £300; he nevertheless continued to act principally as a representative of the proprietors (19 Feb 1850, Gye Diaries).

[156]See for example 3 June, 10 July 1852, 24 March, 3 and 7 April 1854, ibid. and Gye's diary entries concerning the negotiations over the 1854 lease between April 1853 and July 1854.

[157]The 1855 Coutts ledger records total payments to the proprietors of £5,000 which were usually made in weekly instalments of £300. A comparatively small payment delay in July 1855 brought a reprimand from the proprietors in the form of a 'threatening letter' to Gye, who immediately made a payment of £300 on 14 July (13 July 1855, ibid., 1855 Coutts ledger). In January 1856 £2,100 was due in rent, at least £600 of which was probably arrears (27 Dec 1855, Gye Diaries; Appendix 2, article 4).

[158]Judging by Gye's later attempt to oppose the payment of 'Income tax on a/c of R.I.O.', this arrangement may have been unusual (21 Sept 1855, Gye Diaries); a single payment of £116 13s 4d in income tax is recorded in the Coutts ledger for 31 January 1856. The proprietors were to be responsible for the payment of ground rent, land and property taxes and 'all other rates and taxes' (Appendix 2, article 5); previously some of these duties had been paid by the lessee (17 Jan 1849, Gye Diaries). Apparently based on the rates paid during the 1850s, Gye negotiated a ground rent of circa £1,300 with the Duke of Bedford in 1856 and Parochial rates to St.Paul's Covent Garden of £3,000 in 1858 (26 Nov 1856, 6 Sept 1858, ibid.). Gye makes no mention of costs for repairs to the building either before or after 1854.

[159]6 and 29 Sept 1858, ibid.; chapter one, note 48.

[160]The Coutts ledgers rarely list names or items which can be identified with certainty as pertaining to sets, costumes or properties. One must assume, however, that the vast category of 'Sundries', which accounted for up to 25% of the total expenditure, comprised some of these costs. On average the principal scene painter appears to have earned between £20 and £25 per week; on 10 March 1851, Gye noted that 'Grieve came & asked £30 per week for doing the painting - I offered him £25 & agreed to limit the new operas to 3 - he was to consider' (see also 28 Feb 1850, 4 April 1856

Gye Travel Diaries, 11 and 24 Feb 1858, Gye Diaries; Coutts ledgers, 22 April 1854, 11 April 1857).

[161]See chapter four, pp.189-91 and 216 for an analysis of the company size and structure.

[162]W.Beale, i:58.

[163]The Times, 7 Sept 1849.

[164]28 March 1848, Gye Diaries. The ballet may have been either Le diable a quatre, which received its first performance on 1 April, or Nirene; ou, Les sens, first performed on 16 May 1848; the costliness of the latter production was the subject of a discussion between Gye, Delafield and Webster on 28 April (Gye Diaries). According to Rosenthal, Delafield paid £60 'for a single suit of armour in one of his productions' (71).

[165]The Times, 7 Sept 1849; see p.101.

[166]See chapter four, pp.191-93.

[167]6 March 1856, Gye Travel Diary. Under the theatre's fire insurance, the 'theatrical stock and effects' were valued at £45,000, but insured only for £8,000; Gye expended £22,000 on replacing the costumes, music and properties (C16/31/K27, Bill of Complaint, 12; 21 Oct 1858, Gye Diaries). The auction held in 1856 included only musical material and some costumes used for playhouse productions from 1809 to 1846 (A Catalogue of all the Music... of the Numerous Operas and Plays produced at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden...which will be sold at auction...On Thursday, the 3rd day of July, 1856... (London: Alfred Robins, [1856]) ROHA; Diana Barron, 'Covent Garden Auction Sale, 1856', Theatre Notebook, xix/1 (1964):30).

[168]Mario, Grisi, Castellan, Tamberlik and Costa all assigned Gye their 'share of the costumes &c left last season'; this share appears to have been considered part of the salary of the principal artists during the 1850 Commonwealth season (5 March 1851 Gye Diaries, see also 30 Jan 1851, Gye Travel Diary).

[169]Unless otherwise indicated all figures for singers and dancers are compiled from playbills, seasons' prospectuses and newspaper advertisements. Square brackets mark estimates based on previous or subsequent season. The dancers do not include the corps de ballet, which was employed throughout but for which I have not been able to ascertain a precise figure. The orchestra size is based on orchestra lists in libretti; the military band, which may have comprised between 20 and 30 musicians, was probably engaged for specific productions only and has therefore not been included in this table.

[170]The exact size of the orchestra is unclear, though it was certainly the largest ever assembled at an opera house in London. The prospectus includes 80 musicians, while Carse calculated 81, but then only listed 79 (195, 489-90). According to Leacroft the orchestra pit could seat 85 musicians (188).

[171]28 dancers were listed by name in the various playbills and newspaper advertisements. A further 18 second-tier dancers (in addition to the corps de ballet) were listed in the 1847 prospectus; whether all of these appeared at the Royal Italian Opera is unknown.

[172]Persiani to Meyerbeer, 15 Oct 1846 (Ciarlantini, 171). By comparison, Her Majesty's had apparently engaged a chorus numbering 'upward of 80 performers' (Her Majesty's Theatre: Outline of the Arrangements for the Season 1847, BL.Playbills 347).

[173]For the production of Robert le diable 100 additional coryphées were engaged (playbills and The Times, 12, 22 and 31 May 1849); during the course of Delafield's bankruptcy proceedings a total of 106 creditors (74 female, 32 male)were listed for the ballet department the great majority of which were presumably dancers engaged to the company either temporarily or on permanent contracts (The Times, 7 Sept 1849).

[174]100 chorus singers 'and numerous Auxiliaries' were engaged for the production of La Donna del lago (The Times, 5 July 1849).

[175]La Donna del lago, The Times, 25 April 1850; see also Ringel, 35.

[176]Rosenthal, 70.

[177]The Times, 7 Sept 1849. Unless otherwise stated, the following figures for Delafield's tenure are taken from this source.

[178]In December 1848 Gye was entrusted by Delafield with making 'reductions in the expenditure' (14 Dec 1848, Gye Diaries).

[179]For savings made in the payments to the orchestra and other singers, see pp.102-103.

[180]14 Dec 1848, Gye Diaries.

[181]See chapter four, pp.189-90. Ballet companies at many of the operas houses in Italy were also scaled down after 1848 due to the immense expense involved (Storia dell'opera italiana, ed. Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli, v:La spettacolarità (Turin: Edizioni di Torino, 1988) 321 and 334).

[182]The Coutts ledgers for 1853 to 1855 list salaries for dancers of only a few hundred pounds per season. Although these payments are almost certainly incomplete, they do seem indicative of Gye's conservative approach. In 1853 Gye refused Thistlethwayte's offer of £1,000 for a new ballet, as he considered his partner 'would be throwing his money away' (6 July 1853, Gye Diaries).

[183]Precise total figures cannot be established from the Coutts ledgers, as salaries for many of the lower-grade artists, such as chorus members and dancers of the corps de ballet, were not generally listed separately and may instead have been grouped under "sundries".

[184]Costa received a salary of £1,300 plus a benefit of £500 in 1849; based on that contract, he was paid £1,800 in 1850 in addition to his share of profits. He earned £1,200 in 1851, £1,100 in 1854 and £1,300 in 1855 (13

Aug 1849, 5 March 1851, 16 Nov 1854, Gye Diaries). Only the 1854 Coutts ledger records the complete payments totalling £1,100 to Costa. For all other years until 1855, payments of £900 or £1,000 were listed for Costa; the difference might have been entered under "sundries" or may have been paid to Costa in cash. During the 1860s, Costa's salary ranged from £1,200 to £1,800 (Ringel, Table 6).

[185]Payments to the orchestra were made once a week in 1851 and 1852; thereafter salaries were apparently paid once a month (13 July 1852, Gye Diaries). The Coutts ledgers record no such regular transactions which suggests that either cheques were collected and drawn independently of the orchestra's payday, or that some payments were entered under "sundries" or made in cash. During the 1860s, the Coutts ledgers listed total annual salaries to the orchestra of between £6,550 and £7,548 (Ringel, Table 6).

[186]The Times, 7 Sept 1849. In 1846 Gye had voiced his concern over what he considered to be high salaries paid to the orchestra and military bands engaged by Jullien for his concert series: the 'concert band' was paid £270 per week and the four military bands £130 per week (7 Nov 1846, Gye Diaries). Calculated on a weekly basis, Delafield by comparison paid circa £420 in 1848 and circa £335 in 1849. Even on a generous estimate of £6,000 total expenditure, Gye probably paid no more than £270 to £300 per week to his musicians during the 1850s.

[187]22 Sept 1850, 5 and 6 March 1851, ibid. Gye's attempt to enforce salary reductions on the orchestra for the 1850 season apparently failed as several musicians threatened to leave the company (2 Aug, 18 Sept, 22 Nov 1849, ibid).

[188]Musicians at the Royal Italian Opera may thus have been paid slightly more than those at the playhouse in the 1830s, see chapter one, p.26.

[189]Gye made these offers after he had heard that Bottesini and Piatti had been approached by one of Lumley's middlemen (15 and 20 March 1852, Gye Diaries); though it is not known whether Piatti accepted this particular salary proposed by Gye, he too joined the orchestra of the Royal Italian Opera for the 1852 season (see also Carse, 195-96).

[190]14 Aug 1852, Coutts ledger; playbill and The Times, 17 Aug 1852. In 1852 Jullien proposed to engage a large chorus for his concert season which Gye estimated would cost circa £800 (30 Oct 1852, Gye Diaries).

[191]9 Feb 1851, Gye Travel Diary. The 1851 Coutts ledger records total payments of £63 to Orsini.

[192]Comparison with the list of individual singers' salaries published alongside the total outlay for the 'Vocal Department' indicates, that the latter figures included only principal and secondary singers and excluded salaries for chorus members (The Times, 7 Sept 1849).

[193]The Coutts ledgers list payments to singers of £16,801 in 1851, £13,626 in 1852, £15,461 in 1853, £16,905 in 1854 and £17,597 in 1855; the last figure includes £4,400 paid to Beale on account of Mario's and Grisi's salaries (see p.106). These figures can only act as guidelines: the names of several singers known to have been engaged by Gye are not found in the

relevant Coutts ledgers; these artists presumably either received cash payments or their salaries were entered under sundries.

[194]In addition to basic salaries, principal singers were frequently able to negotiate other bonuses, such as benefits, concert appearances outside the opera house on off-nights and the payment of accommodation. In 1852, Gye also engaged some singers to sing at provincial autumn festivals; from 1854, Gye regularly made engagements for provincial autumn tours which he organised together with the publishers Beale and Chappell. Contracts for these performances were usually negotiated separately, though where the payment for these events was included in the season's contract, this has been noted in Appendix 3. A detailed analysis of these privileges is beyond the scope of this study; see Ringel, pp.178-209 for singers' salaries during the 1860s.

[195]Roger was originally engaged for the production of Guillaume Tell in August 1848, for which he probably received a salary of circa £1,790. He was, however, also brought to London for four performances of Lucia di Lammermoor in March, for which he secured an additional £320, or £80 per night; the director of the Opéra Comique in Paris received another £240 for releasing the tenor in mid-season (25 April 1848, Gye Diaries). In 1849 Roger brought a lawsuit against Delafield concerning his 1848 contract (11 Jan, 9 Feb 1849, ibid.). Salary arrears are most likely to have been at the centre of this dispute and it seems conceivable, that Roger's salary listed in the bankruptcy proceedings represents only the amount actually paid to the singer, while the originally agreed figure may have been even higher.

[196]Viardot's contract apparently fixed her salary at £60 per night (18 July 1849, ibid.). Yet she made only eleven appearances during July and August, for which she received a total of £1,213 or an average of £110 per night.

[197]During the final weeks of the 1849 season, Costa, Mario and Grisi signed an agreement with Beale to sing 'without pay - & then to take a share of whatever might be left after paying Band, Chorus &c' (9 July 1849, ibid.); the salaries listed in Delafield's bankruptcy proceedings may accordingly not constitute those originally agreed upon, but rather the total payments made to these artists. Although Beale apparently planned to enforce similar restrictions for a number of other singers, it is unclear whether that scheme was implemented (3 July 1849, ibid.).

[198]2 Aug 1849, ibid.

[199]29 Aug 1849, 1 Sept 1850, ibid.

[200]Most notably, Tamberlik refused to sign his engagement until granted a fixed minimum salary in addition to his profit share (2,4, and 30 Jan 1850, ibid.).

[201]The 1850 Coutts ledger records no salaries, but does list a number of payments between 5 and 18 September, ranging from £46 to £132, to various members of the Commonwealth committee. An entry in Gye's diary of 3 September suggests that these were part of 'a surplus of about £3,800' which he divided amongst the committee members. Similar payments had been made to some of these artists earlier that season (18 Aug 1850, Gye Diaries).

[202]Gye's negotiations with singers, some of whom were ultimately not engaged, also indicate that he tried to reduce salary levels. He refused to pay Angri £800 for two months and instead offered her £500, exactly half of her 1849 salary; she was not engaged for the 1850 season (18 and 19 Jan 1850, ibid.). Vera agreed to a salary of £400 for the season, or a monthly equivalent of £67; Corbari, whom Vera was supposed to replace, had earned £86 per month in 1848 (21 Jan 1850, ibid.; Appendix 3).

[203]30 Aug, 2 Sept, 27 Oct 1850, ibid. The tenor Salvatori was offered '£1,400 if there were a society, £1,200 if a director' (27 Jan 1851, Gye Travel Diary).

[204]9 and 27 Jan, 19 Feb 1851, ibid.

[205]26 to 28 Feb 1851, ibid.; 27 to 29 March 1851, Gye Diaries. Gye's diary entry on the initial agreement with Viardot's husband stated that she was to receive £50 per night, with at least six performances per month, 'if I took the spec [speculation]' (2 Dec 1850, ibid.). Viardot eventually appeared in full-length operas on 18 nights. The 1851 Coutts ledger records total payments to her of £966; based on the earlier agreement, her husband may therefore have secured a salary increase of at least £66 for the total period of her engagement. Ronconi also disputed his earlier contract, though the details of this disagreement are unknown (3 and 24 May 1851, ibid.).

[206]Grisi and Mario between them also received a profit share of one quarter, which was presumably meant to make up for some of the salary loss (27 Jan 1851, Gye Travel Diary).

[207]Ringel, Table 11.

[208]For a discussion of the managers' rival bids for artists, see chapter four, pp.223-25.

[209]1854 Coutts ledger, 18 March 1854, Gye Diaries. The contract fixed Cruvelli's salary at 3,000 francs per performance, with eight nights guaranteed to her within one month. The magnitude of this salary was probably in part due to the unusually short term of her contract which Cruvelli accepted only reluctantly. Timed to precede the arrival of Grisi in June, Cruvelli's engagement may have been made with a view to 'let her play some of Grisi's parts before she came'. Gye offered Cruvelli another month's engagement in May at £1,000; these negotiations broke down, however, as Cruvelli refused to appear in concerts in addition to operas (5 and 17 March, 22 May 1854, ibid.).

[210]16 and 17 March 1854, ibid. Meyerbeer tried to make the production of L'étoile du nord at the Royal Italian Opera dependant upon the engagement of several particular singers; see chapter four, p.210.

[211]Grisi's 1854 contract was for two months at £2,000; she received another £500 for her benefit and additional performances in August (26 Oct 1853, 10 June 1854, Gye Diaries).

[212]24 March 1855, ibid.; 18 March 1855, Gye Travel Diary. Grisi and Mario hade made this engagement, as 'Mario did not like her singing in London on account of her "Last appearance" having been announced last year & that

in order entirely to prevent this he was against engaging at R.I.O. even himself' (15 March 1855, ibid.).

[213]The Times, 23 May 1855. Cruvelli told Gye that she would be unable to ascertain until April whether her contract with the Opéra would allow her to perform in London during the 1855 season and 'that I had better make my arrangements without her as she would most likely be required in Verdi's new opera Les Vespres Siciliennes' (21 March 1855, Gye Travel Diary).

[214]1855 Coutts ledger; 24 March 1855, Gye Travel Diary.

[215]Gye's travel diary entries of 24 to 30 March 1855 record the details of his negotiations with Beale in full. Unfortunately, Gye gives Grisi's and Mario's salaries only as a total sum. At an average weekly salary of £480 for both artists,the monthly rate might be calculated at £1,920; Grisi and Mario therefore may each have earned an estimated £960 per month in 1855.Gye agreed to pay Grisi and Mario a combined salary of £4,400 for three months for the 1856 season (15 July 1855, Gye Diaries).

[216]Gye had twice refused permission for the Bal masqué, but later gave way 'out of good feeling' (23 and 29 Feb, 6 March 1856, Gye Travel Diary).

[217]5 and 6 March 1856, ibid.

[218]18 and 20 March 1856, ibid.

[219]14 March 1856, ibid.

[220]Dideriksen and Ringel, 7-9; Ringel, 78-86.

[221]Gye did not remain unchallenged for long, as James Henry Mapleson took over Her Majesty's in 1862 (Dideriksen and Ringel, 8-9); an examination of the rivalry between Gye and Mapleson is at the centre of Matthew Ringel's thesis.

Part Two

Artistic Policies and Repertory

The decline of the playhouse and the establishment of the opera house at Covent Garden are closely connected with the diverse policies which influenced the artistic output. The monopoly debate, the competition between the rival opera houses, and the ensuing struggle by the play- and opera house companies to retain audiences enforced the need to develop distinct programming strategies for both the repertory and artists. Most managers recognised this as a necessity and public statements identifying the ideological and artistic basis of the management at the start of a new tenure or season were increasingly common after 1832. Although few managers were able to fulfil their initial promises, the fact that such commitments were made at all seems indicative of the significance they attached to the development of these schemes. It will be argued in part two, chapters three and four, that by the 1830s competition had emerged as one of the primary factors in creating and determining artistic policies in London; it was to remain an important influence throughout the remainder of the 19th century.

The notion of devising a distinctive strategy which would define the structure of the repertory and the company, and set the theatre apart from potential competitors, must be regarded as an essentially 19th-century development. Theatre managers in 18th-century London had planned their seasons not primarily with a view to develop a specific repertory structure, but had rather organised the programme according to the availability of artists.[1] The star system, by which repertories were compiled for and by the principal artists, still exerted a powerful influence over programming strategies in the 19th century. With the increase in theatres and the consequently heightened competition, however, it became

imperative to distinguish further companies and repertories in order to retain sufficiently high audience levels. The promotion of particular genres or works was frequently a reaction to competitors' programming as well as the contentious monopoly debate; its aim was to attract large and regular audiences and thus to improve and stabilise finances. Part two will focus on the link between artistic policies and competition; its main purpose will be to identify and analyse the repertory structure and investigate the defining policies.

It is beyond the scope of this study to examine in detail the diverse playhouse repertory in all its aspects. Chapter three will therefore consider the structure of the drama repertory mainly to inform the subsequent discussion of the opera repertory. In many ways the artistic decisions which governed the opera department were closely linked to those concerning drama. The issue of supporting native artistic talent was especially controversial and exerted considerable influence over the organisation of the playhouse repertory. In this context the artistic strategies adopted by managers with regard to the balance between opera and drama, the support for English opera, and the introduction of foreign operas will be of particular interest.

Chapter four will focus on the policies which determined the structure of the opera repertory at the Royal Italian Opera; the ballet repertory was only initially of any significance to the artistic organisation of the opera house and is therefore not discussed in any detail.[2] The rivalry between the Royal Italian Opera and Her Majesty's initially led to a paucity of distinct strategies at both theatres. It was only under Gye that a clearly defined repertory was developed which was calculated to defeat his competitor. Of particular interest is the formation of a reservoir of repertory works and the expansion of the repertory to include French and

German works. Furthermore, the practical consequences of the fierce battle for survival as exemplified by confrontations with Lumley over performance rights and artists' contracts will be of especial importance. Finally, this chapter considers the artists' influence on programming, in particular Costa's hold over the orchestra and the link between the formation of the company and the scheduling of particular genres and works.

Chapter Three

Strategies for the Playhouse

1) The Monopoly Debate and the Playhouse Repertory

Ever since the playhouse had been established at Covent Garden in 1732, the repertory had consisted of a variety of theatrical genres: serious drama, comedy, opera, ballet, pantomime, farces, interludes and, since the early 19th century, melodrama, and spectacle. Opera, both foreign and English, had always formed part of the playhouse repertory, though managers seldom regarded it as more than one of many components. By the beginning of the 19th century audiences had thus come to expect a highly diverse repertory at the playhouses and the exclusion of any one of the main genres of tragedy, comedy, and opera was virtually inconceivable. During most seasons in the 1830s the repertory of Covent Garden was dominated by drama: 70% to 85% of all productions consisted of serious drama, comedy, interludes, farces, spectacle and pantomime. Opera usually made up between 20% to 30% of the repertory, while ballet, when included, on average accounted for less than 5% (Appendix 4). All performances were staged in English; foreign works, whether drama or opera, were translated and adapted for the English stage. Each evening's entertainment consisted of two to three parts: a main piece, usually an opera or full-length drama, and one or two shorter afterpieces, either a farce, melodrama, interlude, ballet or short opera.[3] The overall organisation of the repertory was thus firmly denoted. The weight given to the individual genres, however, depended on the manager's response both to competition and the debate over native theatrical talent, and the financial state of the company.

Although the 1832 Select Committee was concerned extensively with the issues of viability, mismanagement and competition, its original

purpose had been to examine the 'Laws affecting Dramatic Literature', and more particularly the cause for the apparent decline in quantity and quality of native drama.[4] According to the supporters of the minor theatres the patent theatres had neglected their duty towards the preservation and encouragement of native dramatic and literary talent which was consequently in a wretched state.[5] They argued that the lack of support for native talent had led to fewer authors of stature being willing to write for the stage. Such English plays and operas as were performed were of insufficient standard. Foreign plays and operas now formed the backbone of the repertory at the major theatres; spectacle and low-key entertainment had taken over from serious drama and high quality comedy.

> The original grants were for the purpose of maintaining the Drama and encouraging genius and talent. The result has been precisely the contrary... they substituted Spectacle for acting - sound for sense. They converted their houses into menageries, into places for the exhibition of feats of strength and agility, for parade and bombast, and Bartholomew Fair exhibitions, and Boxing matches.[6]

These accusations were accompanied by complaints concerning the usurpation of the bastions of English drama by foreign authors and artists.[7] By no means a novel argument, this was an issue which had repeatedly attended the presentation of Italian opera in London and had also played a key role in the infamous O.P. Riots at Covent Garden in 1809.[8] Now, however, it was directed not only towards foreign opera and singers, but was widened into an attack on productions at the two patent theatres in general. They were accused of promoting Italian and French opera over English plays and of encouraging authors to compile adaptations of French dramas rather than create original English works. Financial rewards offered by the patent theatres for new plays were poor and the fact that the copyright laws did not cover performance rights, and hence provided insufficient protection to playwrights, only exacerbated the dilemma. Beyond these specific criticisms the debate exposed a deep-seated

anxiety regarding England's apparent failure to produce any outstanding theatrical works: 'no passion for the Drama can exist, for the plainest of all reasons - there is no Drama to have a passion for'.[9]

Such arguments were extremely harmful to the major theatres, for although the patents did not specifically command them to foster native dramatic and literary talent, the century-old tradition of English actors and singers performing works by English authors had established this as the responsibility of the patent theatres. Their reaction was accordingly as swift as it was predictable. Both Kemble and his colleagues at Drury Lane vigorously denounced the allegations and defended their programming strategies: 'we give them as great a variety as possible of entertainments of the best sort we can procure'.[10] As will be discussed below, the repertory at Covent Garden was not as well balanced as Kemble would have the Select Committee believe. As, however, significant changes to the repertory structure would have conceded defeat, neither Kemble nor Bunn at Drury Lane made any serious efforts to modify potentially controversial policies. Kemble's successor Laporte seemed even less concerned with the public debate. His apparent preference for foreign artists, ballet and opera directly fed the argument of the patent theatres' opponents, as pamphlets such as the satirical The National Drama clearly reveal.

> Monsieur L-. The late Lessee of a certain Theatre, the door of which was closed against British talent.... "I did contrive to send the English actors away, and have Il Teatro all to myself - dat was good management".[11]

Subsequent lessees were forced to acknowledge and incorporate to a much greater extent the impact both the monopoly debate and the fierce competition had had on the public's expectations of the patent theatres. If finances were to stabilise, managers now could not simply rely on the traditional drawing power of the major theatres but instead needed to shape the repertory and company structure to attract actively their

audience. A renewed emphasis on serious drama and the engagement of native artists were the two most obvious and important issues lessees had to consider. With the exception of Bunn and Vestris, all managers after 1835 structured the theatre's programme and company accordingly. A significantly larger number of dramas and operas by English authors were commissioned, serious drama was favoured over comedy and opera, and ballet was omitted altogether for four seasons. That finances did not improve with these alterations was due to a combination of broken promises, miscalculations and the continued competition with the minor theatres.

Beyond the need to adapt policies to public opinion, changes to the repertory were determined by financial considerations and the necessity of preempting or reacting to programming decisions by competitors. The balance between different genres was often altered due to financial constraints and solvency problems more than once caused the collapse of previously well-defined artistic policies. Furthermore, some of the most startling repertory changes were made with a view to gain financially from the scheduling of particular artists; the drastic alterations wrought on Vestris' programming strategies by Adelaide Kemble's immense popularity during the 1841/42 season rank amongst the most extreme in this context. Similarly, the programmes of rival theatres could cause temporary shifts in the repertory of Covent Garden, though such changes were usually confined to single productions and did not normally extend beyond individual seasons.

2) Drama

Prior to the publication of the 1832 Select Committee report, managers such as Kemble and Laporte were able to mask their lack of support for native drama and artists or indeed purposefully ignore the matter. During the final years of Kemble's tenure at Covent Garden, the repertory generally followed the traditional pattern of the playhouse: drama comprised three-quarters of all performances, while opera and ballet on average came to 21% and 2% respectively (Appendix 4). English drama and opera made up the bulk of productions and the company included very few foreign artists.[12] The apparently conspicuous promotion of native talent and an equally respectable repertory structure, however, conformed only superficially to the demands of the patent theatres' opponents. Closer examination reveals not merely that most English plays and operas were revivals but, more importantly, that the majority of new productions were adaptations of foreign operas and dramas.

Significant modifications to Kemble's programming policy did occur, but only as the effects of competition on the theatre's finances made them unavoidable. The financially disastrous outcome of the 1828/29 season forced Kemble to find a popular attraction for his theatre, or else face closure. With considerable daring Kemble chose his daughter Fanny Kemble for the difficult task of rescuing the theatre. He may have calculated that her family connection and the unusually bold decision to cast an unknown actress in one of the most demanding of classical roles - Juliet - for her debut, would create sufficient interest to draw audiences.[13] The artistic and financial success of her debut was as swift as it was surprising. While plays in which Fanny Kemble was cast brought nightly receipts of between £218 and £571, receipts on off nights were frequently less than half that at between £74 and £344. The only productions to rival her appearances in

popularity was Rophino Lacy's adaptation of La cenerentola.[14] Kemble wasted no time in exploiting the financial potential of his new star; two-thirds of all full-length drama performances in 1829/30 were given over to tragedies and Fanny Kemble. Her success in serious drama caused Kemble to shift the emphasis of the repertory still further towards that genre during the 1830/31 season and by 1831/32 her performances of serious plays and tragedies accounted for 77% of the drama repertory. Comedy, in which Fanny Kemble appeared only rarely, was relegated to second place. The season of 1831/32 even witnessed the premiere of two major new tragedies at Covent Garden: first Fanny Kemble's own Francis the First, followed by James Sheridan Knowles' The Hunchback. Without disclosing the reasons behind the altered strategy, this remarkable shift provided Kemble with the necessary evidence during the hearings of the 1832 Select Committee to prove, that the legitimate drama was highly valued at Covent Garden.

Laporte's artistic policies are notable here mainly for his conspicuous disregard of public opinion. Uninterested in drama, but immensely supportive of spectacle, ballet and, later, opera, Laporte apparently took little note of either the 1832 Select Committee or the vocal supporters of the national drama. Whether this was a deliberate act of defiance or the result of Laporte's inexperience in managing a playhouse as opposed to an opera house is unclear. Not surprisingly, however, these controversial and decidedly imprudent policies earned him much criticism and little in financial gain. His tenure, disrupted as it was by the defection of his actors, at first glance seems to present two disparate approaches to the repertory. Until the end of April 1833, drama dominated while opera and ballet shared second place (Appendix 4). By contrast, drama was relegated to afterpieces and made up barely one third of all performances as opera

surged to more than 50% of the repertory during the summer season. Closer scrutiny, however, soon reveals that Laporte had shown no real interest in drama from the very beginning of his management. The company of actors was respectable but included very few artists of distinction.[15] Spectacles, burlettas and masques made up the bulk of new dramatic productions, a bias which might have contributed to Laporte's difficulties with his actors. Furthermore, of the two new plays, one was a comedy and the other, The Dark Diamond which was advertised as a 'new original drama', appears in fact to have been a melodrama with extensive musical numbers by Laporte's brother-in-law Adolphe Adam.[16] The repertory shifted still further away from "pure" drama with the series of dramatised performances of the oratorio The Israelites in Egypt, or, The Passage of the Red Sea; Lacy's unusual adaptation 'consisting of sacred music, scenery and personation' was apparently modelled on Continental performances and combined music from Handel's Israel in Egypt and Rossini's Mosè in Egitto.[17] Unlike most playhouse managers, Laporte showed a particular interest in ballet, which made up 12% of all performances and included several full-length works, such as the highly successful Masaniello. Such ballets were entirely new to the playhouse repertory and denoted virtually the only original trait of Laporte's tenure. To realise these lavish productions, Laporte transferred a host of soloists from the King's Theatre to Covent Garden; the vast majority of which were French; English dancers, if at all engaged, were confined to the ranks of the corps de ballet.[18]

Following the publication of the 1832 Select Committee report all managers at Covent Garden were forced by economic circumstances to consider the demands for greater encouragement of native literary and dramatic talent. Most lessees now publicly acknowledged the necessity and benefits of a change in attitude, as is exemplified by Macready's 1837

address to the public:

> [Macready] has become the lessee of Covent-garden Theatre, with the resolution to devote his utmost zeal, labour, and industry to improving the condition of that great national theatre, and with the hope of interesting the public in his favour by his humble but strenuous endeavours to advance the drama as a branch of national literature and art.[19]

Osbaldiston, Macready and, for a very brief period, Wallack deliberately placed the emphasis of their repertory on serious drama, including most importantly Shakespeare and new plays by contemporary English authors. Equally, they made a conscious effort to engage English actors, thereby providing much needed financial and artistic support for London's theatrical community. While Bunn and Vestris arrived at rather more unusual solutions, their policies, too, were motivated by the desire to support the "National Drama", however different their understanding of it might have been.

Osbaldiston opened his first season of 1835/36 at Covent Garden with the apparent intention of employing English actors and of supporting English authors, a policy which was to be paralleled in the opera department.[20] The line-up of contemporary authors, who either wrote new plays for the company or whose plays were revived, was indeed impressive and comprised Sheridan Knowles, Bulwer-Lytton, Joanna Bailie and Sergeant Talfourd. After a low-key start the company furthermore included a number of outstanding English actors such as Charles Kemble and Helen Faucit.[21] The drama repertory was dominated by serious plays and tragedies, which accounted for well over 70% of all main pieces produced in 1835/36 and more than 90% during the following season (Appendix 4). Although Osbaldiston's support for native artists and serious drama was conspicuous, the overall structure of the drama repertory may have developed more by accident than planning. The impetus for the greater focus on serious drama, and in particular

Shakespeare, during the 1836/37 season came almost certainly from Macready's defection from Drury Lane to Covent Garden in June 1836 and Charles Kemble's retirement from the stage in 1837. Shakespeare's plays, which were of little importance to the 1835/36 season, made up almost half of all drama performances in 1836/37 as Kemble made final appearances in all his most acclaimed characters and Macready was cast in the lead in all but four of ten Shakespeare productions. Whether Osbaldiston would have devised a similar programme had he not been able to benefit from these two actors' popularity seems questionable, for his original intentions had apparently been different.

Osbaldiston had come to Covent Garden from the Surrey Theatre, a minor theatre which he had managed since 1831 and where he had achieved considerable success with productions of light dramatic pieces. His policy there had been to stage plays in 'The melodramatic style of performance, mixed up with the regular drama occasionally'.[22] On his move to the patent theatre Osbaldiston appears simply to have transferred this strategy, taking with him some of the Surrey Theatre's actors and most successful productions.[23] Works associated with the minor theatre now flooded the stage of the patent theatre. Most were performed as afterpieces, the number of which rose sharply from a level of 28 in 1835/36, a figure comparable to previous seasons, to 46 in 1836/37. This was a controversial policy which found little support even amongst Osbaldiston's artists, as Fitzball's comment on the transfer of his play Jonathan Bradford from the Surrey Theatre to Covent Garden demonstrates.

> It was quite out of place, more especially at that peculiar period, when we were so vulnerable to the attacks of the press... giving the theatre the air of a minor theatre; although a great minor theatre was what he originally intended to make it.[24]

Osbaldiston's decision to mimic the repertory of the minor theatres at Covent Garden, as his parallel policy of reducing ticket prices to the level

of his competitors, badly misfired.[25] Instead of raising attendance levels, this high-risk strategy gained him only public condemnation.

Macready's decision to focus on drama and support new plays by English authors was billed as 'a sort of counter-revolution on our stage in favour of our national drama'.[26] While clearly influenced by his own preference for serious drama, Macready's strategy was based on a genuine desire to revitalise English drama and to restore financial health and artistic respectability to the patent theatre. Tragedies and serious dramas formed the core of the drama repertory, over 70% in 1837/38 and a startling 97% in 1838/39; comedy, along with opera, ceased to be of importance during Macready's second season at Covent Garden (Appendix 4).[27] The programme was centred on several new plays by authors such as Bulwer-Lytton, Talfourd and Knowles, revivals of popular contemporary dramas, and Shakespeare whose plays alone comprised over 50% of all drama performances during 1838/39. Beyond his ambition to reform the content of the patent theatre repertory, Macready also addressed the issue of presentation. The quality of productions was to be enhanced not only by an astute choice of plays, but also 'by the filicity[sic], appropriateness, and superior execution of the several means of scenic illusion'.[28] Macready took great care in preparing drama productions by endeavouring to restore as much as possible of the original text, especially of Shakespeare's plays, while bearing in mind the sensitivities of both the audience and the Lord Chamberlain; sets and costumes underwent similar scrutiny, thereby giving the stage a more coherent and "authentic" appearance.[29] Macready's policy gained him considerable public approval and, at least initially, moderate financial success - if the avoidance of a huge deficit in 1837/38 can be deemed a success. According to the stage manager George Bartley, the Shakespeare productions had been 'the most

attractive and most profitable performances of the [first] season'.[30] Yet the continuation of Macready's management beyond this season had been secured foremost by the immense popularity of the Christmas pantomime which included a so-called diorama by Clarkson Stanfield and by the tremendous success of Knowles' new play Woman's Wit; or Love's Disguises which received an almost uninterrupted run of 31 performances during the final six weeks of the 1838 season.[31] During his second season, Macready appears to have fallen victim to his policy of securing perfectly presented productions for the theatre. Expenditure for the Christmas pantomime of 1839/40, which was as usual a lavish extravaganza, amounted to £1,500 instead of the £500 which Macready had set aside for it; this was a serious miscalculation which probably inaugurated his problems with the proprietors.[32]

Macready's rivalry with Bunn at Drury Lane manifested itself as much in public and private exchanges of insults, on which both managers appear to have expended considerable energy, as in the repertory of Covent Garden.[33] While Macready and Bunn were keen to emphasise the differences in the respective theatre's repertory - the legitimate drama at Covent Garden and opera and spectacle at Drury Lane - each kept a wary eye on his opponent. Both regularly attended performances at the rival theatre and sent "spies" to report on the quality and success of productions.[34] Moreover, Macready, who had so frequently pronounced his opposition to spectacle and music, at least on two occasions tried to counter Bunn's successful ventures into opera by staging pieces which incorporated just these despised qualities. Balfe's new opera Joan of Arc, The Maid of Orleans was countered by a spectacle of the same name at Covent Garden in 1837, and the 1839 revival of Knowles's drama William Tell, in which several new musical numbers were introduced, was

scheduled to coincide with the premiere of Rossini's Guillaume Tell at Drury Lane.[35]

The third manager to structure his repertory and company with the explicit intention of supporting native theatrical talent was H.Wallack in 1842/43. English drama, both contemporary and classical, was to be at the centre of the repertory and Wallack moreover promised to employ 'none but English artists in an English theatre'.[36] Initially, serious drama indeed prevailed over comedy, opera and ballet were omitted altogether and the company consisted of English actors only. Following a serious dispute, however, the entire 'tragic portion of the company' left Covent Garden only two weeks into the season.[37] Having already sustained heavy losses through these difficulties with his company, Wallack immediately abandoned all previous promises and pronounced himself unable to succeed 'by the performance of the legitimate drama only' - a rather superfluous statement since he now had no company with which to conduct such a programme. Having rejected his original strategy, Wallack determined to continue the season 'with the aid of such talent, both native and foreign, as he hopes may prove more attractive to the public, and therefore less disadvantageous to himself'.[38] Virtually overnight, comedy dominated and a troupe of French juvenile actors were engaged for ballet and vaudeville. The obvious desperation of this drastic policy change at first gained Wallack some sympathetic voices amongst playgoers, who appeared appalled by the defection of the actors.[39] Yet the lamentable quality of the new troupe not only silenced what little support Wallack had received, but also crushed all hopes of recouping the severe losses. After another two chaotic weeks Wallack finally resigned for good without having fulfilled any of his worthy intentions.

The artistic strategies adopted by Vestris for her tenure at Covent

Garden were apparently somewhat at odds with the demands arising from the debate over the patent theatres' monopoly and their support for native dramatic talent. Nevertheless, they brought considerable artistic, though still little financial success. Vestris, even more so than Macready, placed the emphasis on the immaculate and lavish presentation of all entertainments. She had already achieved much success with this policy at the Olympic Theatre and now transferred it to Covent Garden.[40] Costumes, sets and the stage machinery became such an important part of productions, that some critics expressed serious doubts as to whether the presentation should be allowed to overshadow the play itself.[41] It was indeed the immense expense incurred by these extravagant productions, which probably caused Vestris to suffer significant pecuniary losses throughout her tenure.[42] The treatment of the main pieces was extended to afterpieces such as masques, spectacles, and other 'extravaganzas', many of which had first been produced at the Olympic Theatre and were now adapted to suit the larger stage of Covent Garden.[43]

One of the most striking differences to earlier seasons, and one which might at first seem diametrically opposed to the notion of supporting the legitimate drama, is the almost exclusive presentation of comedies throughout the three years (Appendix 4). For this programme Vestris engaged some of the most sought after comic actors, such as Robert Keeley and Charles Mathews. The tragic part of the company, though including some fine actors, was generally perceived to be of less distinction, especially after the departure of James Anderson at the close of the 1840 season.[44] In its composition, the company of actors clearly reflected the repertory structure. During the 1839/40 season 55% of all plays performed were comedies; this figure increased to 91% in the following season and by 1841/42 serious drama was entirely absent from the repertory.

Shakespeare's plays, though regularly staged, did not figure all too prominently in the repertory during 1839/40 or 1841/42. During Vestris' second season, however, the lavish new production of A Midsummer Night's Dream caused a sensation; at 60 performances it was surpassed in popularity only by Boucicault's London Assurance and attracted higher critical acclaim than any other production during Vestris' entire tenure.[45] Vestris further made a point of reviving 18th-century plays, in particular Sheridan's comedies, as well as encouraging contemporary playwrights such as Knowles, Dion Boucicault, Leigh Hunt and Douglas Jerrold - a strategy which attracted much favourable press coverage.[46] However determined Vestris initially seemed in the application of her policies, all good intentions collapsed with the arrival of Adelaide Kemble in 1841. The considerable income which the staging of Italian operas with Kemble promised was, as will be discussed below, irresistible and the repertory changed almost instantly.

Economic reasoning was, as has been discussed in chapter one, also behind Bunn's controversial Union of Covent Garden and Drury Lane. Inextricably linked to this unusual organisation was an equally novel artistic strategy. Bunn split the traditional playhouse repertory between his two theatres: opera, ballet and spectacle reigned at Covent Garden, while drama formed the mainstay of the repertory at Drury Lane (Appendix 4).[47] Individual productions as well as artists were transferred between both theatres, thus enabling Bunn to assemble a varied yet cost effective repertory. As such exchanges were infrequent they did not materially affect the overall bias of the repertory at either theatre. Full-length dramas accounted for no more than 13% and 23% in 1833/34 and 1834/35 respectively of the Covent Garden repertory.[48] No play received more than four performances at Covent Garden during 1833/34, indeed most

were staged only once; in 1834/35 only Othello was presented more than five times. Within this very limited range, tragedies and serious drama comprised half of all dramatic performances in 1833/34 and 89% in 1834/35. This pattern was not simply a reflection of the repertory at Drury Lane, but was also an attempt to present particularly popular actors, such as Macready, Vandenhoff and Faucit, in their most acclaimed parts. In line with this policy Shakespeare dominated the drama repertory, while the production of contemporary plays was only a secondary consideration at Covent Garden. Bunn was of course not insensitive to the demands for the support of native dramatic talent and had indeed claimed that the restoration of 'The National Drama' was his prime concern in implementing his controversial managerial and artistic policies.[49] Yet this promise was upheld only in so far as Shakespeare's plays were a prominent feature of the repertory at Drury Lane. As for new contemporary dramas, Bunn showed little interest in their promotion; of the four new plays produced between 1833 and 1835, one was an adaptation while the other three were comedies, one of which was by Bunn himself. This was hardly the kind of support the theatrical community had demanded. Bunn later went to great lengths to prove his patronage of the national drama, but even his own analysis shows clearly that his real interest lay elsewhere, namely in the promotion of opera and ballet.[50]

3) Opera

Although drama usually formed the centrepiece of the playhouse repertory at Covent Garden, opera was regarded by most managers as an essential part of productions. Few showed a particular affinity with the genre, but equally few dared to omit opera entirely from their programmes. Indeed, in the wake of the debate over the encouragement of native talent, English

opera became a prominent consideration in managers' repertory plans. New operas were, however, expensive to stage and were therefore frequently amongst the first victims in any cost cutting measures. Conversely, opera also had the potential of attracting huge crowds to the theatre, a fact which led to a number of drastic policy changes during the 1830s and early 1840s.

In general opera constituted 20% to 30% of the overall playhouse repertory. This figure, however, can only act as a guideline since the proportions varied significantly and genres are sometimes hard to differentiate.[51] While in the extreme case of Wallack's management no operas were produced, opera soared to almost 40% of the repertory during Bunn's tenure. Furthermore, individual opera productions could eclipse drama in popularity and thus temporarily change the format of the programming schedule. Within the opera repertory, English opera frequently made up two thirds of all productions. The remaining one third consisted of foreign, that is mainly Italian and French operas; German opera was more often than not omitted altogether. It would be easy to conclude from this brief outline that Covent Garden was home to a flourishing native operatic culture. Yet the following, more detailed examination of the repertory will show that the opposite was often the case, as managers relied on revivals of popular English operas, while neglecting new English works in favour of new French and Italian operas.

In 1832 Kemble could apparently point to a fine record of English opera productions which corresponded with that of English drama. During the final three years of his tenure English operas had accounted for approximately half of all opera performances, all of which had been presented by distinguished English singers, such as Elizabeth Inverarity, Jane Shirreff and John Braham (Appendix 5). As in the drama department,

however, the promotion of English talent in opera was only superficial. Certainly the number of English operas performed between 1829 and 1832 had risen conspicuously from eight to 20, possibly prompted by the engagement of Braham and Inverarity for the season of 1830/31 and that of Shirreff for 1831/32. Yet this increase did not lead to an equivalent rise in the number of English opera performances. Instead a greater number of English operas were staged for short runs of usually no more than three or four performances. The vast majority of these were, moreover, revivals of works first performed during the 1820s or earlier. Several 18th-century ballad operas, such as Thomas Arne's Love in a Village (1762), Charles Dibdin's The Waterman (1774) and Samuel Arnold's Auld Robin Gray (1794), were regularly produced as afterpieces alongside some of Henry Bishop's earlier works such as Clari; or, The Maid of Milan (1823). Only one English work billed as an opera received its premiere at Covent Garden between 1829 to 1832: Home, Sweet Home by Bishop had a short run of only four nights in 1829 and was not revived during Kemble's tenure. John Barnett's Robert the Devil, Duke of Normandy, advertised as a 'Musical Romance', by contrast achieved an initial run of 34 performances in 1829/30 and was revived in 1830/31 and 1831/32. The substantial quantity of incidental, ensemble as well as solo numbers place Barnett's work, which was modelled closely on the libretto to Don Giovanni, half way between a melodrama and an opera.[52] It is indicative of the relatively low status of English opera within the opera repertory that the majority of English works, including the two premieres of the 1829/30 season, were produced as afterpieces. By contrast, most foreign operas were regularly staged as main pieces (Appendix 6).

A further sign of Kemble's indifference towards new English operas is the apparent absence of a permanent music director at Covent Garden,

whose responsibilities would have included composing English operas. It has hitherto been assumed that Thomas Simpson Cooke, first engaged at Covent Garden in that position in 1826, remained at the theatre continuously until 1835.[53] Yet none of the operas, nor any of the plays requiring incidental music, produced during the 1829/30 to 1831/32 seasons can be linked to Cooke with any certainty. Furthermore, a comment by Fétis appears to place Cooke at the head of the Drury Lane orchestra in 1829/30.[54] Several composers, such as Lacy, Bishop and George Smart, were employed at Covent Garden, but their engagements appear to have been for individual productions only, most of which were adaptations of foreign operas.[55] The theatre's account books for 1829 to 1832 support such an assessment, as payments to these musicians were recorded only periodically in the ledgers.[56] Kemble may well have chosen this highly unusual solution over the employment of a regular music director. As for the musical direction, London's orchestras were generally still led by the first violinist and a maestro al cembalo or pianoforte; the latter position would conceivably have been taken by the various freelance composers from whom new music had been commissioned.[57]

While Kemble neglected new English operas, new foreign works were regularly produced and comprised three quarters of all new opera productions (Appendix 6).[58] In his choice of foreign operas Kemble was cautious, on the whole preferring established Italian works and introducing recent French ones only under the pressure of competition; only one German opera, Louis Spohr's Azor and Zemira; or, The Magic Rose (1831), was performed during the 1829/30 to 1831/32 seasons. Rossini's works formed the mainstay of Italian operas. Two new adaptations of his operas were staged, of which Lacy's Cinderella; or, The Fairy and the Little Glass Slipper (La cenerentola) proved to be one of the most successful

productions of Kemble's final years at Covent Garden.[59] Not only was Cinderella the most frequently performed opera during 1829/30 and 1830/31, it also drew audiences comparable to the dramas in which Fanny Kemble appeared. Nightly receipts in 1829/30 ranged between £172 and £344, culminating at £521 on the last night of that season; in 1830/31, nightly receipts were on average slightly lower, though performances during the pantomime season in January still regularly brought well over £300.[60] Only in 1831/32 was Rossini's popularity overshadowed by French opera. While Italian opera made up 35% and 36% of all opera performances in 1829/30 and 1830/31 respectively, it slipped back to 20% during 1831/32 (Appendix 5). This was due entirely to the success of two new French operas, The Fiend-Father; or, Robert of Normandy (Robert le diable) and Auber's Fra Diavolo, both translated and adapted by Lacy, which together amounted to 26% of the opera repertory.[61] Previously, French operas had been of little significance or had indeed been omitted entirely from the programme (Appendix 5). As the following comment by Fanny Kemble suggests, the primary motivation for the remarkable change in emphasis was financial:

> [Covent Garden] have been bringing out a new grand opera, called "Robert the devil", which they hope to derive much profit from, as it is beyond all precedent absurd and horrible (and, as I think, disgusting); but I am almost afraid that it has none of these good qualities in a sufficient degree to make it pay its own enormous cost'.[62]

Moreover, The Fiend-Father and Fra Diavolo appear to have been mounted in response to the programming of Covent Garden's competitors. Fra Diavolo had first been produced in London at Drury Lane (1 February 1831), just seven months prior to the Covent Garden staging on 3 November 1831. Meyerbeer's opera had received its first performance in London at the Adelphi on 23 January 1832 and within a month two further productions at both patent theatres followed. At Drury Lane Robert le

diable was produced in an adaptation by Bishop on 20 February, while Covent Garden staged its version on 21 February; later that season, the opera was also performed at the King's Theatre by the original cast from the Opéra.

Kemble's successors were less conservative in their choice of foreign works, favouring more consistently French over established Italian operas. Nevertheless, the reliance on established English operas was a feature common to all but two of subsequent managers. Only Osbaldiston and Macready made any attempt to employ a respected composer at the head of the opera department, thus temporarily instigating an increased production of new English works. Most probably their support for English opera was not just a response to the public debate over native talent, but was a deliberate attempt to compete with Bunn's promotion of Michael Balfe at Drury Lane. Between 1835 and 1838 five new operas by Balfe were mounted at Drury Lane, amongst them the hugely successful The Siege of Rochelle (1835) and The Maid of Artois (1836), the latter with Malibran in the title role. Osbaldiston's response was the engagement of George Rodwell, whose Paul Clifford (1835) scored a respectable success, while Macready staged the long-awaited premiere of William Rooke's Amilie; or, The Love Test (1837) to immense public acclaim.

Osbaldiston's appointment of Rodwell as director of music at Covent Garden in 1835 brought with it a concentration on English opera and a virtual banishment of foreign opera from the repertory. One French opera, Hérold's Zampa, was produced in 1835/36 and foreign opera was omitted entirely during the 1836/37 season (Appendix 5). Another French work, The Bronze Horse; or, The Spell of the Cloud-King (1835), though based on Auber's Le cheval de bronze and published as an 'Operatic Drama', was in fact transformed into a 'romantic spectacle' with virtually none of the

original libretto or music intact; significantly the manuscript libretto submitted to the Lord Chamberlain in fact identified this as a 'New Melo Drama[sic]'.[63] Both Zampa and The Bronze Horse were intended to frustrate Osbaldiston's rival at Drury Lane. Bunn had apparently commenced preparations for Auber's opera well before Osbaldiston had even taken on the management of Covent Garden, but found himself upstaged by Osbaldiston who managed to produce his version six weeks before the Drury Lane premiere.[64] Similarly, the Covent Garden production of Zampa was presented two weeks earlier than that at Drury Lane. Bunn's predictably furious response to Osbaldiston's policy gives some indication as to the intensity of theatrical competition.

> I had been preparing Auber's opera of the Bronze Horse on a very extensive and a very expensive scale.... Notwithstanding all this outlay, and notwithstanding my own conviction and my rival's knowledge that he did not possess the materials to do it any degree of justice, "Auber's Last New Opera of The Bronze Horse" was announced for representation at Covent Garden by an operatic company incapable of singing music, with scarcely a chorus singer or dancer, and without, I believe, the expenditure of £50....had it been attended with any degree of favour, the labour and expense which had been incurred at Drury Lane might have been neutralised by the parsimony and false expedition at Covent Garden....[65]

Bunn appears for once not to have been exaggerating, for although Osbaldiston's company only included English singers, he had, as in the drama department, engaged very few artists of distinction; the one noted singer, the soprano Emma Romer, was supported throughout his tenure by second and third rate artists.[66] Furthermore, the account book seems to confirm that the outlay in sets and costumes must have been small if not minimal.[67]

All new English operas produced during 1835/36 and 1836/37 were commissioned from Rodwell and his librettist Edward Fitzball. Osbaldiston's first season saw the highest number of new English operas produced at Covent Garden between 1829 and 1843; seven out of ten English operas

received their premiere at Covent Garden in 1835/36 (Appendix 6). The three revivals, all performed as afterpieces, were popular works by Dibdin, Stephen Storace and John Davy. With the collapse of the theatre's finances, however, this innovative schedule came to an abrupt halt. New productions were expensive and in his effort to curb spending Osbaldiston opted for the much cheaper approach of producing revivals. During the 1836/37 season only one new opera was staged; Zohrab the Hostage was an utter failure and was withdrawn after the first night (Appendix 6). The music to this work had been 'principally selected from the First Masters', possibly by Rodwell, who had retained his position at the theatre, despite the obvious curtailment in the scope of his work.[68] Instead of encouraging native talent, Osbaldiston instead relied on revivals of Rodwell's popular works in addition to a few operas by Bishop and Dibdin, most of which were staged as afterpieces. Moreover, the number of opera performances within the overall repertory was reduced by more than half, from 22% in 1835/36 to 8% in 1836/37 (Appendix 4). After a most promising start, opera thus ceased to be of any importance at Covent Garden.

Macready, whose hostility towards musicians and singers is well documented, nevertheless recognised the importance of supporting English opera - especially so, one might assume, given the weighty opposition mounted in this department by Bunn at Drury Lane.[69]

> As English opera has become an essential part of the amusements of a metropolitan audience, he [Macready] has been anxious to procure the aid of native musical talent, and trusts he has succeeded in his engagements with composers, singers, and instrumental performers.

For his first season at Covent Garden, Macready engaged a number of fine English singers, including Priscilla Horton, Shirreff and Henry Phillips; William Harrison and Elizabeth Rainforth joined the company in 1838/39. Rodwell initially retained his position as music director, but resigned at the end of March 1838 'in consequence of a misunderstanding having taken

place between himself and Mr Macready'; the nature of this dispute is unknown.[70] Whether Macready found an instant replacement for Rodwell is unclear. Only a further two new operas were staged during the remainder of the 1837/38 season, one of which, John Hullah's The Outpost, could conceivably have been directed by the composer himself. Contrary to Rosenthal's account, however, Hullah was not appointed music director at Covent Garden. Indeed, when Hullah tried to take over the duties of the music director in November 1838 without Macready's sanction, he was severely reprimanded by the manager.[71] Macready was instead able to engage T.S.Cooke, previously employed in that capacity at the rival patent theatre, for the 1838/39 season. Cooke accepted the post with the understanding, that 'the duties required of me being so very light, as to be in every respect compatible with other branches of professional pursuits which I have long meditated adopting...'.[72] Macready seemingly intended to confine the responsibilities of the music director to conducting and arranging works, while new English operas would be commissioned from freelance composers.

In accordance with Macready's public address, three-quarters of the opera repertory in 1837/38 consisted of English opera productions, while opera in general accounted for 28% of the overall repertory (Appendices 4 and 5). French opera, though regularly performed, was relegated to afterpieces. The only new French opera of Macready's first season, an adaptation of Auber's Le domino noir as The Black Domino, was staged only after several presentations of the same work at minor theatres, even though Macready appears to have been contemplating its production as early as 13 December 1837.[73] The first London performance took place at the Olympic Theatre on 18 January 1838, followed closely by the Adelphi (22 January) and the St.James's Theatre (29 January); the Covent Garden

production was not presented before 16 February. The Marriage of Figaro, the only Italian opera staged in 1837/38, was revived for a short run of seven performances (Appendix 5). Although Macready scheduled a large number of English operas, fourteen in all, most were revivals and remained in the repertory only briefly (Appendix 6). Like Kemble and Osbaldiston, Macready was conservative in his choice of revivals, programming mainly 18th-century operas by Dibdin, Arne and Storace, as well as the occasional early 19th-century work. Four new English operas were produced, two of which were by Hullah; no new works were commissioned from Macready's musical director Rodwell. Neither Hullah's works, nor the anonymous Windsor Castle; or, The Prisoner King, were particularly successful and it was left to William Rooke's Amilie to raise the level of English opera performances.[74] For almost the entire month of December Amilie dominated the stage at Covent Garden; its run was interrupted only occasionally by performances of Macbeth. Following the Christmas pantomime, performances became slightly less frequent, yet by the end of the season Amilie had been performed on 54 nights. It was thus the most successful production of the season, outshining even such popular dramas as Bulwer-Lytton's The Lady of Lyons and Knowles' Woman's Wit, both of which received just over 30 performances. Spurred on by the success of this opera, Macready quickly commissioned a second work by Rooke and his librettist J.T.Haines. Despite its initial success, however, Henrique; or, The Love Pilgrim (1839) was withdrawn after only five performances 'on account of a misunderstanding with the manager'.[75] Probably occasioned by the premature closure of this production, the number of opera performances as a whole declined during Macready's second season, while the number of drama performances increased correspondingly (Appendix 4). English opera now accounted for only 56% of the opera repertory. A

greater emphasis on revivals of popular foreign operas such as Fra Diavolo and The Marriage of Figaro was apparently intended to balance this reduction, though it could not compensate the overall decrease in opera performances (Appendix 5). Opera as a main piece virtually ceased to exist as Macready continued his policy of the previous season of scheduling most operas as afterpieces (Appendices 4 to 6). Following the termination of Henrique not a single opera was performed as a main piece and no further new operas were presented.

While support for new English opera was only sporadic, the promotion of foreign operas, and French works in particular, was far more consistent. French opera, rather than Italian or German, usually figured most prominently in the repertory during both Laporte's and Bunn's tenures. Even Osbaldiston and Macready, who had made considerable effort to foster English opera, preferred French over Italian works. There are only two exceptions to the general preference for French opera, firstly the brief summer season under Laporte and Bunn in 1833, in which German opera dominated the repertory, and secondly the seasons of 1841/42 and 1842/43 which were heavily influenced by Adelaide Kemble's supremacy in Italian opera.

Despite Laporte's close association with the King's Theatre, the opera repertory at Covent Garden in 1832/33 could hardly be called imaginative. Opera performances formed just 12% of the repertory, placing it on an equal level with ballet (Appendix 4). Laporte exhibited comparatively little interest in producing English works, which made up less than half of opera performances, and instead raised performances of French works to 41% of the opera repertory. Italian opera, comprised of popular works by Rossini and Mozart, came to no more than 14% and no German works were produced (Appendix 5). An obscure adaptation of All's

well that ends well by Lacy formed the sole venture into new English operas; most other English works were chosen from the familiar canon of 18th-century operas (Appendix 6). It seems probable that Lacy was engaged as musical director, as only his adaptations of Italian and French operas were performed during this season and he also compiled and directed the oratorio The Israelites in Egypt. Laporte's strategy for French opera was only marginally more adventurous than his approach to either English or Italian works. Lacy's new adaptation of Auber's recent Le serment as The Coiners; or, The Soldier's Oath, produced only six months after the Paris premiere, was withdrawn after four performances. The French repertory was instead sustained by the more successful revival of Fra Diavolo, hardly a particularly novel work and presented moreover only as an afterpiece.

It was after the defection of the actors to the Olympic Theatre that the programme at Covent Garden gained in originality. Notwithstanding Laporte's retention of the lease until the summer, he was not apparently the sole instigator of the remarkable change in the repertory. By the time Covent Garden reopened to a season of opera and ballet at the end of May 1833, Laporte appears to have effected an unusual arrangement with his rival at Drury Lane. Bunn and Polhill were not only to permit regular guest appearances of some of their most noted artists at Covent Garden, but were also to organise performances of a superb German opera company at that theatre. While this scheme provided Laporte with a cost effective means by which he could reopen his theatre, it enabled Bunn, who was already preparing his Grand Junction, to gain an early foothold at Covent Garden.[76] Opera now made up an extraordinary 97% of all main pieces. English works were of little significance, limited as they were to three performances of established works by Dibdin and Jackson, and the theatre

was instead given over to foreign opera and foreign artists. At the centre of the season were the performances of a German opera company, first engaged by Bunn for Drury Lane, which comprised almost half of all opera presentations (Appendix 5).[77] The operas were sung in German by an all-German cast headed by Wilhelmine Schroeder-Devrient and included Der Freischütz, Fidelio, Die Zauberflöte, all of which were fairly well known to London audiences, as well as the English premiere of Euryanthe. Bunn further permitted a series of guest appearances of Malibran at Covent Garden, for which two entire productions were transferred from Drury Lane; she was joined by Templeton and a number of other English singers from Drury Lane.

> In consequence of the attraction of Madame Malibran in her two popular characters of La Sonnambula and The Students of Jena, she has been prevailed upon to perform them To-night, at this theatre [Covent Garden]; in consequence of which arrangement, the heavy scenery and machinery connected with those dramas will (by permission of Captain Polhill) be removed on that occasion from Drury-lane Theatre'.[78]

The substantial receipts which Malibran's appearances attracted at Drury Lane were presumably also realised at Covent Garden and, as Laporte was in urgent need of such lucrative productions, may have been the principal reason for the transfers.[79]

Meanwhile, Laporte continued to stage a number of large-scale ballets at Covent Garden with artists from the King's Theatre and in addition brought a host of celebrated dancers and singers, including Fanny Elssler, Marie Taglioni, Giovanni Battista Rubini, Giuditta Pasta and Antonio Tamburini, to the playhouse for benefit performances.[80] With so many prominent foreign artists, there was little room for English singers, who were generally confined to the few performances of English and French opera or drawn in to support Malibran. Apart from Templeton, Vestris and Braham were the two most renowned English singers at Covent Garden.

They sang on several benefit nights, and appeared in The Lord of the Manor, Masaniello (the opera rather than the ballet) and, together with Malibran, in a single performance of The Marriage of Figaro. Not surprisingly, both Bunn and Laporte were heavily criticised for the blatant breach of the playhouse traditions.[81] Yet apparently unperturbed, Bunn set to transforming Covent Garden into a bastion of French opera, while Laporte returned to the King's Theatre.

Amongst all the managers of the playhouse at Covent Garden Bunn was the only one to show more than a cursory interest in opera, and in foreign opera especially. Bunn was regularly involved in the preparation of new opera productions through the translation and writing of libretti. Furthermore, his management of the German opera company in 1832 and his subsequent involvement in several similar ventures all point to an exceptional personal interest.[82] The derision with which Bunn's promotion of opera was met, in particular by actors and dramatic writers, may in part account for the failure of most theatre and music historians to appreciate his importance in this field. Bunn's contribution to London's operatic culture was, however, recognised by those most intimately connected with his projects: '[Bunn] was the greatest friend to operatic people that ever yet came on the English stage...'.[83] Bunn himself left no doubt as to where his preferences lay: 'If I were asked which of these distributions of performance I would prefer undertaking, I say at once "opera, ballet, spectacle"....'[84] This was exactly the formula which he chose for Covent Garden under the Grand Junction.

With the repertory split between the two playhouses during the 1833/34 and 1834/35 seasons, Covent Garden took on the guise of an English opera house - only English opera was seldom to be heard. Although Bunn employed some of the most sought after English singers, he directed

his attention away from English opera to French works which accounted for 77% and 60% of all opera performances in 1833/34 and 1834/35 respectively (Appendix 5). While Bunn included the ever popular John of Paris and Fra Diavolo in his programme, he was intent upon bringing to London the most recent of operatic productions from Paris. For this purpose he travelled to Paris in the summer of 1833 where he saw Hérold's Le pré aux clercs and Auber's Gustave III, ou Le bal masqué and immediately determined on producing them in London; he returned to Paris the following summer, when he may have seen Auber's Lestocq, ou L'intrigue et l'amour.[85] Le pré aux clercs (1832) and Lestocq (1834) were accordingly produced at Covent Garden within a year of their respective Paris premieres as The Challenge on 1 April 1834 and Lestocq; or, The Fête of the Hermitage on 21 February 1835 respectively.[86] These, as all new opera productions, were adapted by Bunn's music director T.S.Cooke. Yet the highlight of the repertory was the spectacular production of Gustavus III; or, The Masked Ball, which had received its premiere only six months prior to the London presentation. Bunn clearly intended to impress his audience with this first new production of his tenure at Covent Garden. If the superlatives which filled the advance notices are to be believed, the orchestra was considerably enlarged, lavish sets and costumes were created and a vast number of supernumeraries were engaged.[87] Bunn certainly understood how to draw the masses, for far from simply producing an opulent adaptation of a successful opera, he embarked upon creating an exceptional social event. The 50th performance on 14 January 1834 was marked in great style by a dinner on the stage of Covent Garden, to which 'a select number of the patrons & friends of the theatre', as well as members of the companies of Covent Garden and Drury Lane were invited.[88] Still more sensational was the introduction of a masked ball and lottery in April 1834, apparently

modelled on a similar series at the Opéra, in which the audience were invited to participate.[89] With an almost uninterrupted run of 94 performances within the first season, there could be no doubt over the financial and artistic success of this production.[90]

> The town became literally Gustave-mad; and that grand desideratum in managerial matters, viz. its being unfashionable not to have seen any particular piece, was achieved.[91]

With such a successful production there was little room for any other operas to take hold. Italian opera was limited to a total six performances of The Barber of Seville and Don Juan over the entire season of 1833/34; the 15 performances of Der Freischütz are notable as Bunn's single foray into German opera that season (Appendix 5). The only work to compete with Gustavus in terms of performance frequency during the 1833/34 season was the full-length ballet The Revolt of the Harem by Filippo Taglioni, which was presented on 47 nights from February to the end of the season. As with his selection of operas, Bunn had here chosen a work which had only just been produced in Paris and which required extravagance in sets, costumes and cast.[92] Gustavus did not dominate the stage of Covent Garden to such an extent during 1834/35, as the novelty effect had subsided. Together with Lestocq it nevertheless still comprised two thirds of all main piece operas; almost equally popular were The Revolt of the Harem and the new spectacle Manfred.

Although Bunn unashamedly used the opulence of these productions to attract audiences, his concern with presentation went beyond that of crowding the stage and supplying brilliant sets and costumes. Assembling an exceptional ensemble of singers appears to have been of equal importance. Bunn's one constant complaint was that whilst London's theatres, unlike many Continental opera houses, could boast many outstanding singers, it had no 'tout ensemble'.[93] Managers' dependence

on stars had led to exorbitant salaries and ill-discipline; artists ruled productions and managers had to comply. Given the chance to create an opera company at Covent Garden, Bunn accordingly set to work and engaged an unprecedented troupe of fine English singers, most of whom remained with the company for both seasons. Most prominently these included Templeton, Shirreff, Inverarity, Phillips, Seguin, Braham, Wilson and Romer. Interestingly, Bunn ascribed the success of Gustavus principally to its reliance on this ensemble.

> It ceases, then, to be a matter of surprise, that a more signal success attended this representation than the stage had for many years witnessed, by the mere effect of a tout-ensemble. In the production of this piece, no particular reliance was placed upon the peculiar advantage of any one performer's acting;... there were no exorbitant salaries paid to any histrio[sic] employed in its personation.... Neither the illness, nor the insolence of any one could stop its career, nor in any respect mar its perfection: the result was necessarily of the highest importance to the scheme.[94]

Despite the rhetoric, Bunn was of course not opposed to engaging stars or indeed foreigners where the artistic and financial benefits were only too clear. Thus the so-called 'Summer Season' of 1835 was given over almost entirely to Malibran, who appeared in La sonnambula and Fidelio and whose preference for these works resulted in a significant rise in the number of German and Italian opera performances (Appendix 5). The pecuniary rewards apparently compensated Bunn amply for his brief foray into the abhorred star system.[95]

An exception to most managers' preference of French over Italian or German opera is to be found during Vestris's tenure. Financial reasoning, however, rather than any personal or artistic motivation were behind this alternative programming. Despite Vestris' prominence as a singer, opera, and especially foreign opera, was initially not an important feature (Appendix 4). All works performed during Vestris' first season were English and little changed during 1840/41, when Fra Diavolo was revived

(Appendix 5). With the exceptions of the entirely unsuccessful Mabel; or, The Gipsy's Vengeance (1840) by J.M.Jolly and The Greek Boy (1840) by a Mr Lover, all English operas were revivals of popular works by Dibdin, Arne and Jackson. The one notable operatic success during Vestris' first two seasons was the new production of The Beggar's Opera. This represented a highly unusual attempt not merely to perform the work in "original" costumes and sets, but also to restore the opera to 'its old shape... [that is, including] the ancient prologue'; since neither a libretto nor any music appear to have survived, it is unclear how and whether the music might have been affected by this policy.[96] Such an approach, though rare to opera, had already been applied to drama by Vestris herself, as well as her predecessors Macready and Kemble. Little original musical work was evidently required for Covent Garden during this period and it therefore comes as no surprise that Vestris only initially engaged a noted composer at the head of the music department. Bishop was engaged as music director for 1839/40, but does not appear to have supplied any music for the theatre.[97] No music director was apparently employed during 1840/41, although it seems conceivable that the theatre's chorus master J.H.Tully, who was to be responsible for the 1842 production of Comus, may temporarily have taken on that position. Vestris' troupe of singers too reflected the lack of interest in opera; Rainforth, Harrison and Vestris herself were the only noted singers engaged.

It was the arrival of the soprano Adelaide Kemble in November 1841 which brought a significant change to Vestris' artistic policy.[98] Within days the focus of the repertory shifted from comedy to Italian opera, which was to dominate the stage of the playhouse for the remainder of the 1841/42 season (Appendix 5). Adelaide Kemble appeared exclusively in Italian operas which accordingly formed the focus of the repertory with almost 40%

of all main pieces. Drama was assigned to off-nights, while French and English opera were confined to afterpieces (Appendix 5).[99] Kemble made her debut in the first production of Norma by the resident company at Covent Garden; this was followed by performances of The Marriage of Figaro, La sonnambula and the English premiere of Mercadante's Elena Uberti (Elena da Feltre) in a translation by Henry Chorley.[100] All operas were arranged and conducted by Julius Benedict, who appears to have been specifically engaged to direct the works scheduled for Kemble. Vestris clearly relied on Adelaide Kemble's drawing powers alone to sustain the operas, for little attempt was made to engage further prominent singers; Kemble was joined by Harrison and Rainforth, but the remainder of the supporting casts were inferior. Despite her previous support for drama, Vestris had now succumbed to financial argument: Adelaide Kemble guaranteed high receipts and all former promises were forgotten.[101] The engagement of Kemble, however, brought with it increased production costs as Vestris' company was not equipped for large-scale opera. An additional chorus of 70 singers had to be engaged for Norma, additional musicians had to be hired and new sets and costumes had to be commissioned for at least two of the four operas.[102] Furthermore, Vestris failed to produce an equally popular drama which might have filled the theatre on off-nights. The significant financial gains from Kemble's success were therefore cancelled out by this imbalance in the repertory.

The immense financial potential of Adelaide Kemble was of course recognised not only by Vestris, but also by the singer's father Charles Kemble. Eager to benefit from the projected financial gains that Adelaide Kemble's success appeared to promise, Kemble focused the repertory entirely on opera and his daughter's abilities, thus deserting his earlier policies for the playhouse. Almost 60% of all main pieces were given over to

Italian opera in 1842, which Adelaide Kemble again performed exclusively. French and English opera, the latter virtually non-existent, were relegated almost entirely to afterpieces (Appendix 5). Adelaide Kemble's repertory included revivals of Norma, Figaro and La sonnambula. Her most successful part this season, however, was the title role in Semiramide, one of the two new productions that season. The second new opera featuring Adelaide Kemble, Cimarosa's The Secret Marriage, was less successful. Benedict continued as music director for the opera productions. In addition to Rainforth and Harrison, the much acclaimed contralto Mary Shaw was engaged to support Adelaide Kemble; problems of casting in the secondary parts, however, remained.[103] In an attempt to address the persisting problem of the off-nights, Kemble mounted a lavish production of The Tempest, which indeed brought considerable artistic success. Yet the enormous expense of this production, together with the cost of the new operas, outweighed receipts and the ensuing financial dilemma soon forced Kemble to resign.[104]

Bunn took over the company mid-season at the end of December 1842, but much to his misfortune instantly lost its main attraction. Adelaide Kemble had long since determined that this was to be her last season before her impending marriage and stayed at the theatre only as long as her father retained control of the management; she gave her last performance at Covent Garden on 23 December 1842.[105] Despite this serious loss Bunn was evidently determined to continue the season with the main emphasis on opera and immediately announced the engagement of two celebrated singers, Joseph Staudigl and Gilbert Duprez; Staudigl, however, did not arrive before the end of April and Duprez's appearance failed to materialise altogether.[106] Bunn retained Benedict as music director; several noted singers such as Rainforth and Shaw also stayed with the company, but

none of these artists could compare with Adelaide Kemble either in quality or popularity. Endeavouring to make up for this significant drawback, Bunn broadened the repertory by raising French works to 43% of all opera performances (Appendix 5). The previously so successful Gustavus was revived, as was Weber's Oberon; or, The Elf King's Oath, and a new sumptuous production of The Lady of the Lake was staged. Furthermore, several spectacular ballets, such as La sonnambule and The Maid of Cashmere (Le dieu et la bayadère), were mounted for which Bunn engaged a large number of additional dancers.[107] Yet with no star to equal Adelaide Kemble, these potentially popular productions failed to attract sufficient audiences and Bunn, too, relinquished the management of Covent Garden.[108]

Throughout the 1830s and early 1840s, managers had sought to accommodate some of the public demands for the greater encouragement of native dramatic talent, not least as they hoped thereby to increase the financial viability of the playhouse company. The commissioning of English operas and the preference of these works over foreign operas were sporadically considered an important factor in fulfilling these obligations towards English composers and authors. On the other hand, the promotion of foreign opera promised considerable artistic and pecuniary rewards which not infrequently led to the neglect or abandonment of contemporary English operas. Yet in the event, neither policies were sufficient to raise the income of the playhouse to a sustainable level. Even the extraordinary support for Adelaide Kemble and consequently Italian opera by two consecutive managers did little more than emphasise that the reliance on one star or one genre could neither support the playhouse financially nor act as a substitute for a coherent artistic policy. This held particularly true when the artistic, financial and legal foundations of the company were

subjected to such tough public scrutiny as the playhouse at Covent Garden throughout the 1830s until 1843.

NOTES

[1]Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London, i:102 and 123. Artistic strategies were seldom published in the 18th century and were not generally intended to inform on a public debate.

[2]Ivor Guest has provided a thorough assessment of Lumley's importance in promoting ballet at Her Majesty's during the 1840s in The Romantic Ballet in England: its development, fulfilment and decline (London: Phoenix House, 1954) 83-127 and 138-43, and Jules Perrot: The Master of the Romantic Ballet (London: Dance Books, 1984) 78-223.

[3]Although most shorter pieces were performed as afterpieces, there was no set order and evenings sometimes started with a farce or interlude, then continued with a full-length drama and closed with another short piece. During the Christmas and Easter periods the array of afterpieces was replaced by a pantomime. The repertory of the playhouse at Drury Lane was based on a similar pattern.

[4]1832 Select Committee, 3.

[5]Thomas Serle, 1832 Select Committee, 118; Place to Serle, undated letter, Harvard Theatre Collection; Tomlins, 7-12; The National Drama, 8 and 12.

[6]Place to Serle.

[7]See for example The National Drama, 12 and 14.

[8]Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London, i:90; Marc Baer, Theatre and Disorder in Late Georgian London (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) 192-206.

[9]Tomlins, 21; compare chapter five, pp.244-45.

[10]1832 Select Committee, 53.

[11]The National Drama, 6. Bunn at Drury Lane was exposed to similar criticism (see notes 7 and 81).

[12]Foreign musicians occasionally performed solo pieces interspersed between main and afterpieces. One notable foreign artist engaged for a single night was Malibran, who appeared in The Marriage of Figaro 'in aid of the subscription for the Re-opening of Covent Garden Theatre' on 2 October 1829 (The Times).

[13]Kemble apparently also appealed directly to the audience's sympathetic support for a daughter helping her troubled father: 'the constant reference to Euphrasia's filial devotion [in The Grecian Daughter], and her heroic and pious efforts on behalf of her old father - incidents in the piece which were seized upon and applied to my father and myself by the public' (F.Kemble, ii:87).

[14]BL.Add.23,160; see pp.152-53 and chapter six, pp.289 and 317-21.

[15]Laporte had succeeded in engaging Edmund and Charles Kean for Othello in March 1833, but this production was brought to a premature end by Edmund Kean's collapse during the first night and his subsequent death.

[16]Adam also provided music for the spectacle His First Campaign (1832).

[17]The Times, 22 Feb 1833; R.Lacy, The Israelites in Egypt, or, The Passage of the Red Sea... Performed for the first time in this country, at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden... (London: W.Kenneth, 1833); In-Letters to the Lord Chamberlain, LC1/17, 19 Nov 1832, PRO. When Bunn attempted to stage a similar production of Jephta's Vow (Handel, arranged by Lacy) in 1834, he was refused a licence by the Lord Chamberlain (LC1/45G, In-Letters, Vice Chamberlain to the manager of the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, 18 Feb 1834, PRO; Bunn, i:176-79).

[18]The Times, 9 Feb 1833.

[19]ibid., 25 Sept 1837.

[20]Full length ballets were omitted entirely during Osbaldiston's tenure; see chapter one, p.35.

[21]See chapter one, pp.35-36.

[22]1832 Select Committee, 96.

[23]Winston Catalogue, 13.

[24]Fitzball, ii:22-23; see also Winston Catalogue, 13.

[25]See chapter one, p.41.

[26]The Times, 7 July 1838; see also Macready's public address quoted p.142.

[27]Macready continued Osbaldiston's policy of omitting full-length ballets and probably retained only a small number dancers for incidental dances.

[28]The Times, 25 Sept 1837.

[29]Playbill, 24 Sept 1838. Macready was later to develop these ideas still further in his acclaimed revivals of As you like it and King John during his 1842/43 season at Drury Lane (Charles H.Shattuck, Mr Macready produces As you like it; a prompt-book study (Urbana, Illinois: Beta Phi Mu, 1962); ditto, William Charles Macready's King John: A facsimile prompt-book (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962)).

[30]The Times, 7 July 1838.

[31]The diorama was shown separately as an afterpiece until April 1838 (ibid., 7 April 1838). Artists' salaries and Macready's personal financial contributions which had reached almost £1,000 by December 1837, were repaid by the end of January 1838 (ibid, 26 Jan 1838; Toynbee, i:438).

[32]ibid., i:489; see chapter one, p.28.

[33]The sections covering the period of 1837 to 1839 in both Bunn's memoirs and Macready's diaries are filled with disparaging remarks on the character and talent of the respective opponent. Furthermore, each manager accused the other of attempting to gain the support of the newspapers; a libel action was commenced concerning slanderous articles against Macready, believed to have been written either by Bunn, or with his knowledge; and the Queen's apparent preference of Drury Lane over Covent Garden, too, became an increasingly contentious issue.

[34]Toynbee, i:424, 429, 443; Bunn, ii:287-9.

[35]ibid., ii:289 and iii:111; The Times, 28 Nov 1837, 3 Dec 1839.

[36]Wallack's address to the Public, ibid., 3 Oct 1843. Wallack had earlier published a note 'To Dramatic Authors' in which he had assured the public 'that all British original Dramatic Works will receive due attention, and their authors be met with courtesy and liberality' (ibid., 15 Sept 1843).

[37]The nature of this dispute is unclear. Wallack accused the actors of having refused to cooperate with him ever since the opening night. His attempts to produce new plays by British authors as well as revivals of plays by Shakespeare had been 'constantly thwarted and crippled, principally by those who should have been the first to aid and forward his view' (ibid., 16 Oct 1843). The actor James Anderson offered his services to Bunn at Drury Lane as 'A misunderstanding between Mr H.Wallack and myself will afford me an opportunity of quitting Covent Garden Theatre immediately' (Anderson to Bunn, 12 Oct 1843, HTC).

[38]The Times, 16 Oct 1843.

[39]ibid., 16 Oct, 1 Nov 1843.

[40]Williams, 156.

[41]The Times, 7 Sept 1841. Much of the historical research into costumes and sets was undertaken by James Robinson Planché, who had already undertaken similar work for Charles Kemble during the 1820s; Planché was also responsible for many of the adaptations of and adjustments to the revivals of 18th century plays during Vestris' management (Planché, i:52-60 and ii:22).

[42]See chapter one, pp.30-31, 37.

[43]During Vestris' first season of 1839/40 a series of 'Olympic Nights' were presented which featured exclusively pieces previously staged at the minor theatre. This particular scheme appears to have discontinued during subsequent seasons, although pieces from the Olympic repertory continued to be staged.

[44]The Times, 7 Sept 1841. A further particularly prestigious engagement was that of Charles Kemble, who agreed to a limited number of reappearances in 1839/40 by royal command (ibid., 25 March 1840; Williamson, 229-30).

[45]The Times, 7 Sept 1841, 2 May 1842; James Orchard Halliwell, The Management of Covent Garden Theatre vindicated from the Attack of an Anonymous Critic... (London: [printed for the author], 1841) 8-11.

[46]See for example The Times, 7 Sept 1841, 2 May 1842; Halliwell, 12.

[47]Bunn, i:273. Bunn appears to have offered no explanation for the assignment of these particular repertories to the respective theatres. Whether the selection was motivated by specific acoustic or technical qualities of either theatre, or was merely a matter of personal preference is unclear.

[48]The figure of 23% for 1834/35 does not include 36 performances of Byron's dramatic poem Manfred, which was adapted for the stage as a spectacle with music by Henry Bishop and featured a cast of seven singers and nine actors. Bunn himself did not include this production in his repertory appraisal 'for fear it should not be thought LEGITIMATE enough' (ibid., iii:236).

[49]Bunn's address to the public, 27 May 1833 (ibid., i:110).

[50]ibid., iii:229-55.

[51]For a classification of genres, see introduction to Appendix 4, pp.360-61.

[52]J.Barnett and R.J.Raymond, Robert the Devil! Duke of Normandy... (London: John Cumberland, [1829]). Robert the Devil in no way related to Meyerbeer's Robert le diable which did not receive its Paris premiere before 1831.

[53]Rosenthal, 36, 47-48.

[54]François-Joseph Fétis, Curiosités historique de la Musique (Paris: Janet et Cotelle, 1830) 250. Cooke, who was also a tenor, was not listed a singer for any productions during 1829-32. It should furthermore be noted that Bunn, with whom Cooke worked closely throughout the 1830s, was employed as manager at Drury Lane from September 1831 (Opera Grove, iii:28).

[55]Lacy was also regularly commissioned for write music for spectacles, interludes and other short plays.

[56]BL.Add.23,160 and BL.Add.23,161 (Covent Garden Theatre, Diary, 1831-32 & 1832-33).

[57]Carse, 317-24, 331.

[58]Kemble's promotion of foreign opera was probably financially motivated; see chapter six, p.289.

[59]The second new production was Bishop's adaptation of La gazza ladra as Ninetta; or, the Maid of Palaiseau (1830). See chapter six, pp.311-21 for a discussion of Cinderella.

[60]BL.Add.23,160; compare p.139 and see chapter six, p.289.

[61]A third new French opera, Bishop's adaptation The Night before the Wedding and the Wedding Night (Boieldieu, Les deux nuits) received only four performances in 1829 and was not revived; see chapter six, pp.296-97, 305-306, 311-12.

[62]F.Kemble, iii:192.

[63]The Times, 14 Dec 1835; E.Fitzball, The Bronze Horse... (London: J.Duncombe, [1836]); ditto, Plays from the Lord Chamberlain's Office, lvxix (Dec 1835): The Bronze Horse; or, The Spell of the Cloud King, BL.Add.42,933, ff.443-59; D.F.E.Auber, Le cheval de bronze... Représenté pour la 1ière fois sur le Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique le 23 Mars 1833 (Paris: Depot Central de Musique et de Libraire; [stamped E.Troupenas], [1836?]).

[64]Bunn, ii:9.

[65]ibid., ii:9-10. Cooke's adaptation of The Bronze Horse for Drury Lane was far more faithful to the original opera than the Covent Garden version; the opera was translated by Bunn (Song, Duets, Trios, Choruses...in The New Grand Fairy Opera of The Bronze Horse!... performed at The Theatre Royal, Drury Lane... (London: W.Wright, [1836]).

[66]Contrary to Rosenthal's account, the company did not include Shirreff, Elizabeth Rainforth or William Harrison, who were in fact engaged at Covent Garden during Macready's tenure (50-51).

[67]See chapter one, p.36.

[68]Playbill for 28 Feb 1837. Why Rodwell should have accepted such working conditions is unclear, especially since several of his operas produced during 1835/36 had been extremely successful.

[69]Macready's diaries are full of disparaging remarks concerning singers and composers (see for example Toynbee, i:406, 417, 419, 442; Trewin, 156). Amongst the few singers to extract high praise from Macready were Malibran and Wilhemine Schroeder-Devrient, both of whom he heard at Covent Garden in 1833 (Toynbee, i:30-31). The following quotation is taken from Macready's address to the public (The Times, 25 Sept 1837).

[70]Playbill, 30 Sept 1837; The Times, 20 March 1838.

[71]Rosenthal, 52; Toynbee, i:474.

[72]Cooke to Bunn, 6 July 1838, transcribed in Bunn, iii:75-76; playbill, 24 Sept 1838.

[73]Toynbee, i:431.

[74]Hullah's The Barbers of Bassora and The Outpost received seven performances each. Windsor Castle was staged two weeks after Rodwell's departure and is therefore unlikely to have been written by him; the opera was withdrawn after one night. For a detailed discussion of Amilie, see chapter five, pp.270-77.

[75]Sir George Grove (ed.), A Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 4 vols (London: Macmillan and Co, 1880-89) iii:157; see also Rosenthal, 52. The details of this dispute, which is not mentioned in Macready's diary, are unknown.

[76]The earliest indication that such an agreement had been reached is the advertisement for the staging of the Drury Lane production of Macbeth at Covent Garden 'by the kind permission of Captain Polhill' on 20 May 1833 (The Times, 17 and 20 May 1833). Macready recorded a rehearsal for that performance at Covent Garden on 18 May (Toynbee, ii:33). The nature of this arrangement has gone unrecognised by both Rosenthal and Etienne Graefe. Rosenthal simply assumed that Laporte gave up all responsibilities after his resignation in May (43-44). Graefe failed to mention either the defection of the actors or the transfer of artists during the summer months (Un Français, Directeur de Théâtre á Londres, au Commencement ou XIXieme Siècles, Pierre-François Laporte 1799-1841 (PhD diss., University of Lyon, 1966/67) 69-71).

[77]Although Bunn was nowhere publicly acknowledged, his involvement in the engagement of the German troupe is documented in his memoirs (Bunn, i:99 and ii:130-31).

[78]The Times, 14 June 1833. The Students of Jena was a operetta by Hippolyte André Chélard, the conductor of the German opera company.

[79]See chapter six, p.290.

[80]See p.141.

[81]See for example the playbill for the Olympic Theatre, 27 May 1833, and The National Drama, whose author not only attacked Bunn and Laporte for their support of foreign artists and opera, but also ridiculed a number of noted German and Italian singers and dancers.

[82]Bunn organised a series of performances by a German opera company at Drury Lane in 1841 and at Covent Garden in 1842; see chapter six, notes 26 and 27. See note 65, chapter five, pp.243 and 250 for Bunn's involvement in translating and writing libretti, and chapter six, pp.289-90 for the pecuniary benefits of staging foreign opera.

[83]Fitzball, ii:242.

[84]Bunn, i:274.

[85]ibid., i:126, 131, 208. During the 1833 trip, Bunn had apparently also offered Rossini '20,000 francs (£800) to compose an opera for our stage'; this proposal was presumably rejected by Rossini (ibid, 131).

[86]Bunn's production of The Challenge was preempted by the Adelphi Theatre which had staged its version of Le pré aux clercs seven months earlier on 9 September 1833.

[87]Playbill for 13 Nov 1833. To ensure the continued attraction of this production, Bunn had the sets and costumes overhauled twice within five months (playbills for 26 Dec 1833, 15 April 1834).

[88]Bunn to J.Payne Collier, Lent 1834, HTC; Bunn, i:145.

[89]The Times, 16 April 1833; playbill for 21 April 1834.

[90]Until the beginning of February only the opening of the Christmas pantomime briefly disrupted the continuous programming of Gustavus (26-28 Dec 1833).

[91]Bunn, i:141. An undated letter by Bunn to the editor of The Globe lists 19 member of the aristocracy, who had attended the production of Gustavus. These included Princess Victoria, the Duchess of Kent, the Duke of Bedford and the Duke of Devonshire (HTC). A further undated note by Lord Gifford to Bunn requests three 'orders to go upon the stage at Covent Garden in Gustave' (ibid.).

[92]La révolte au sérail received its premiere at the Opéra on 4 December 1833 and was first performed at Covent Garden on 5 February 1834; amongst the dancers was Pauline Leroux, who had participated in the Paris production (Cyril W. Beaumont, Complete Book of Ballets, 2.edn. (London: Putnam, 1949) 111-119).

[93]Bunn, i:36 and 203; compare also chapter four, pp.217-19.

[94]Bunn, i:142-43.

[95]See chapter six, p.290.

[96]The Times, 19 Nov 1839. The playbill advertised the opera with 'The Dresses, &c... of the period of the original production of the Play - 1728' (18 Nov 1839).

[97]Playbill for 30 Sept 1839.

[98]Kemble's engagement appears to have been concluded after the opening of the season, as her name is not included in the company list for the 1841/42 season (playbill for 6 Sept 1841). Kemble had already appeared in several Italian opera houses with some success; this was her English debut.

[99]The most notable operatic English work to be produced during 1841/42 was a new adaptation of John Dalton's masque Comus which incorporated large sections from Purcell's King Arthur (Songs, Duets, Choruses, &c. in Milton's Comus... The Music principally selected from the Works of Handel, Purcell, and Arne. Adapted and arranged by Mr J.H.Tully. As revived at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden (London: S.G.Fairbrother, 1842). Much to Vestris' annoyance Cooke, who had originally suggested the new adaptation, had now moved on to Drury Lane where he had apparently arranged a revival of Comus and a new production of King Arthur, both of which were scheduled to coincide with the Covent Garden production (The Times and playbill, 1 March 1842).

[100]Alfred Loewenberg, Annals of Opera 1597-1940, 3.edn, introduction by Edward J.Dent (London: John Calder, 1978) 799. A King's Theatre production of Norma had previously been performed once as part of Laporte's benefit on 17 July 1833.

[101]Frances Anne Kemble, Records of Later Life, 3 vols (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1882) ii:280.

[102]Williams, 178; Planché, ii:57.

[103]For a cross section of reviews, see Rosenthal, 58.

[104]Williamson, 235-36; chapter one, p.27.

[105]Williamson, 234.

[106]The Times, 26 Dec 1842.

[107]Pauline Leroux's engagement announced in December 1842 apparently fell through. The only illustrious guest dancer was Elssler, who performed on Bunn's benefit night (ibid., 26 Dec 1842, 13 March 1843).

[108]Bunn to the Proprietors of the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, 13 Feb 1843; Bunn to Robertson, 3 May 1843, HTC; The Times, 24 May 1843.

Chapter Four

Strategies for the Opera House

Like their predecessors at the playhouse, the managers of the Royal Italian Opera had to develop their artistic policies under the pressure of intense competition. The impetus for the establishment of the new opera house had apparently emanated from an ambition to vie with and improve on the productions of Her Majesty's. Yet financial constraints resulted in the immediate abandonment of such ostensibly distinct strategies and instead led the managers to rely on second-rate imitations of Her Majesty's traditional programming patterns. A repertory and company which would distinguish the Royal Italian Opera from its competitor was to develop only from 1848 onwards. During the first season of 1847, however, the ready departure from such principles in favour of emulation was seemingly considered the only viable means by which the established rival could be opposed.

The repertory was affected not only by the programming schedule of the rival establishment. The new opera house was in direct competition with Lumley over the acquisition of performance rights to specific works. These privileges guaranteed exclusivity and hence carried with them the potential of greater financial success; conversely, failure to win such rights could lead to the cancellation of conceivably lucrative productions. Furthermore, the managers of the Royal Italian Opera and Her Majesty's were frequently competing to engage the same artists. While probably only the most senior singers were able to dictate the repertory in which they performed, the engagement of particular singers was usually linked to the programming of specific works. The loss of principal artists to the rival opera house could therefore have a direct bearing upon the repertory.

1) The Repertory at Her Majesty's before 1847

Until 1847, Her Majesty's faced direct competition only from foreign touring companies visiting London; the patent theatres merely posed an indirect threat as they staged all operatic works in English. The formation of Her Majesty's repertory and company was therefore determined principally by the necessity of presenting popular artists and programmes which would guarantee a stable income; competitive scheduling was of comparatively little importance. London's Italian opera house had traditionally relied on the star system. Audiences usually came to see and hear a particular singer or dancer at Her Majesty's, rather than a specific work.[1] The repertory was accordingly conceived around highly popular artists such as Pasta, Grisi, Mario, Lablache and Rubini. The projected financial gains gave these artists considerable influence over the organisation of the repertory. Revivals and premieres of new works alike were often scheduled at singers' requests and were used as vehicles to present a particular star in an opera especially suited to that singer's abilities.

The operas in which these singers excelled not surprisingly formed the core of the repertory. Rossini's works dominated the stage of the King's Theatre throughout the 1820s and 1830s, although the preeminence of Grisi, Tamburini, Mario and Lablache in bel canto works increasingly brought operas such as Norma, I puritani, L'elisir d'amore, Lucia di Lammermoor and Lucrezia Borgia to London.[2] During the mid 1840s, Verdi's operas began to emerge as an important feature of the repertory; Ernani was first staged at Her Majesty's in 1845, followed by Nabucco (as Nino) in 1846.[3] All non-Italian operas were performed in Italian translation and any spoken dialogue which these works might originally have included was replaced with recitative. The only German

work presented by the resident opera company until the early 1850s was Die Zauberflöte, first staged at the King's Theatre in 1811 and intermittently revived throughout the 1820s to 1840s.[4] Unlike the patent theatre managers, neither Lumley nor his predecessor Laporte were keen promoters of French opera. Performances of grands opéras were rare and new French works were very seldom staged by the resident troupe. One of the few notable French productions was Rossini's Guillaume Tell which was presented at Her Majesty's in 1839, ten years after its Paris premiere and seven months after Bunn's production of the opera at Drury Lane.[5] Although the length of this stay was unusual, it seems indicative of a practice, by which many Italian, German and French works were first staged at Her Majesty's several years after their premiere on the Continent; such customary delay was permissible only while the opera house was without a rival.[6]

The reliance on a handful of star singers and dancers as the main attractions of the opera house, though lucrative on occasion, made managers highly vulnerable. Artists' whims, illnesses or disputes often had an immediate effect on the repertory and, by extension, the theatre's finances. The "Tamburini Riot" of 1841 and Lumley's subsequent attempts to contain his artists' bickering graphically illustrate the severity of this problem.[7] Yet the degree to which Lumley depended on securing a group of distinguished soloists was even more blatantly exposed in 1847. When Costa had resigned in 1846, Lumley had found a prestigious replacement for London's foremost opera conductor in Michael Balfe. The defection of most of Lumley's principal singers in 1847, and of Grisi and Mario in particular was, however, a far more severe blow, as successors who could rival these artists could not easily be found. The arrival of Jenny Lind half way through the 1847 season

was an impressive coup, but even this superb artist could not singlehandedly compete with the combined brilliance of the Royal Italian Opera's troupe.

2) The Repertory of the Royal Italian Opera in 1847

The first season of the Royal Italian Opera was heralded by the publication of the season's prospectus, which ostensibly announced a novel concept for the artistic management of the company.[8] According to this pamphlet, the Royal Italian Opera would improve upon the poor performance standards of Her Majesty's and introduce a broader repertory to include operas by composers previously neglected at the established Italian opera house. Thus the lessees defined their programme of innovation principally through criticism of the rival theatre. The Royal Italian Opera, so the prospectus boldly claimed, had been 'Established for the Purpose of Rendering a more Perfect Performance of the Lyric Drama than has hitherto been attained in this Country'.[9] Such oblique condemnation of Her Majesty's seemed justified given the periodic public censure of that company for its dependency on stars at the expense of overall performance standards.[10] Yet it conveniently ignored the high regard in which Her Majesty's ballet, orchestra and chorus had been held, as well as the exceptional quality of individual performers previously engaged for that company.[11] The purpose of the prospectus was of course to distinguish the new venture from its competitor, rather than to provide any analysis of the actual state of opera in London.

The pomposity of the Royal Italian Opera advertisement stood in stark contrast to the almost pleading tone adopted by Lumley. The 1847 season's announcement for Her Majesty's opened with a surprisingly

frank admission of the manager's predicament and an appeal to his patrons' loyalty.

> It is presented with the confident hope, that the successful exertions made to secure, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, a Company still more worthy of the first Theatre in Europe, and of its distinguished Patrons, will ensure the continuation of their support.[12]

In the hope that championing tradition would be the best defence against the new competitor, Lumley appeared to offer his audience continuity over innovation and a determination to maintain the standards to which they had become accustomed.

According to the prospectus of the Royal Italian Opera the opera repertory was to include both 'established Works' and 'others of the more modern Italian school'. The list of composers seemed to suggest that Persiani and Galletti were planning a reform of established performance patterns, in which modern and classical French and German works would be presented alongside the more familiar Italian operas. Such progressive plans were even more forcefully promoted by Gruneisen, who demanded, 'We must have Beethoven and Gluck, Mozart and Meyerbeer, Rossini, Donizetti, Bellini, and even Verdi...'[13] Yet these declarations seemed designed merely to draw an ideological distinction between the two rival theatres that would impress potential patrons ahead of the season. Beyond a list of composers' names, the prospectus contained few particulars concerning the actual repertory and in fact promised very few original programming strategies.[14] The lessees promised the production of 'some of the established works' by Cimarosa, Mozart, Rossini and, curiously Meyerbeer whose works, though highly successful on the Continent, were anything but "established" in London. Operas by composers of the 'modern Italian school', including Donizetti, Bellini, Verdi and Mercadante, were also to

be performed. Of these, only Mercadante's more recent works were unknown to London audiences; operas by Donizetti, Bellini and increasingly Verdi had regularly featured at Her Majesty's. Despite all efforts to appear innovative, the proposed scheme for the repertory of the Royal Italian Opera thus remained vague and closely tied to that of its rival.

It accordingly comes as no great surprise to find that the first season of the Royal Italian Opera saw the presentation of a repertory which simulated that of Her Majesty's, without, however, incorporating any of the originality of Lumley's programme. The repertory of the Royal Italian Opera consisted exclusively of Italian operas; French and German works were omitted from the programme (Appendix 7).[15] At Her Majesty's, Italian opera made up a comparatively low 70% and French opera 30% of all performances; here, too, German works did not feature.[16] For the Italian repertory, Lumley concentrated on staging operas by Bellini, Donizetti and Verdi. Bellini's works constituted 27%, but Donizetti dominated the repertory of Her Majesty's. His Italian operas made up 15% and his French operas, La favorite and La fille du régiment, a further 19% of all performances. More surprisingly perhaps, Verdi's operas accounted for 25% of the repertory. These included revivals of Ernani and Nabucco, and, as announced in the prospectus, three works which were new to London: I masnadieri, written especially for Her Majesty's, I due Foscari and I Lombardi. Unusually, none of Rossini's works was performed at Her Majesty's in 1847.[17] At the Royal Italian Opera, by contrast, Italian opera seemed almost synonymous with Rossini, whose works accounted for one third of all performances (Appendix 7). A superbly cast Semiramide was chosen to open the new opera house and, with seven performances, was one of the most popular

productions of the first season. Donizetti's works made up a sizeable 28% of the repertory, though this was still 6% less than at Her Majesty's; his Maria di Rohan was the sole work in the repertory of the Royal Italian Opera which was genuinely new to London. Bellini followed at some distance with 15%. Two of Verdi's operas, Ernani and I due Foscari, were also staged. Yet both works had already been performed earlier that season at Her Majesty's, Ernani three months and I due Foscari two months prior to the respective Royal Italian Opera premieres. If, as the prospectus seemed to indicate, Persiani and Galletti had intended to produce these operas as novelties, the scheduling after the premieres at Her Majesty's must be considered highly imprudent. On the other hand, the sequence of events suggests, that these operas may only have been staged owing to their comparative success at Her Majesty's. Whatever the motivation had been for mounting these productions, the Royal Italian Opera versions proved less successful than those of the rival theatre, despite some strong casting, and Ernani and I due Foscari were withdrawn after three and two performances respectively.[18]

Contrary to the pronouncements in the Royal Italian Opera prospectus none of Meyerbeer's works were produced. Persiani and Beale had tried unsuccessfully to gain Meyerbeer's backing for the Royal Italian Opera by promising the production of 'two or more' of his operas and by trying to impress upon the composer the superiority of the new company over its rival. Yet Meyerbeer evidently refused their offer to conduct one of his works at the Royal Italian Opera, possibly because he was simultaneously negotiating with Lumley.[19] Although Lumley's rival plan of engaging Meyerbeer to direct Ein Feldlager in Schlesien also failed, he was still able to present an innovative programme of French operas.[20] A number of important French works by

Meyerbeer and Donizetti received their first Italian production in London at Her Majesty's: Robert le diable (albeit in a heavily abridged version), La fille du régiment and La favorite. Together, performances of these three operas alone accounted for 30% of the repertory. Such popularity was linked not least to the casting of Jenny Lind in the former two works; indeed, her engagement may have prompted the programming of these works.[21]

As for the classical works so vehemently advocated by Gruneisen, these were represented at the Royal Italian Opera only by Mozart's most popular Italian operas, Don Giovanni and Le nozze di Figaro. Together these accounted for 16% of the repertory (Appendix 7). Although this was considerably more than the two performances of Le nozze di Figaro at Her Majesty's, it was not as varied a repertory as Gruneisen's pronouncements might have led the public to expect. Financial considerations may have led Persiani and Galletti to abandon plans for staging works in the German Singspiel tradition, such as Fidelio or Die Zauberflöte. The cost of commissioning new recitatives to replace the original spoken dialogue, in addition to the standard Italian translation, was one which the lessees could certainly do without. Similarly, the financial and artistic efforts which would have been required for new productions of other classical works, in particular by Gluck, may have dissuaded the lessees from scheduling these operas.

Contrary to the ideals with which the lessees of the Royal Italian Opera had tried to impress their prospective patrons, the repertory of the new opera house was thus neither progressive nor comprehensive. Given the highly conservative, low-risk performance schedule, as well as the limited detail of the prospectus, the question arises as to whether Persiani and Galletti ever intended to fulfil these plans. It seems

conceivable that financial pressures, resulting primarily from the refurbishment of the theatre, forced the lessees to abandon their ambitious policies shortly before the opening of the season; the conventional selection of classical works is a case in point. On a less charitable note, one might argue that Persiani, Galletti and their manager Beale simply lacked the artistic imagination and financial competence to realise such schemes. Imitation of established performances patterns was certainly cheaper and required less ingenuity than the realisation of an entirely new artistic concept.[22] Despite the new lessees' aggressive criticism of their competitor's conservative policies, it was Her Majesty's which in 1847 presented a more original repertory. Lumley had succeeded in securing a significant number of works new to London as well as a world premiere for his theatre. This was a feat which the rival lessees had apparently not even attempted to match. Had the fortunes of the competing opera houses depended solely on an innovative repertory, Her Majesty's would clearly have prevailed during this first season. Yet success hinged not only on which operas were performed, but also, on which artists performed them, and here, as will be argued in part five of this chapter, the Royal Italian Opera had a head start.

3) The Repertory of the Royal Italian Opera, 1848 to 1855

The new management which took over the Royal Italian Opera in 1848 brought striking changes to the artistic direction of the company. Delafield, Webster and Gye adopted a programming strategy evidently designed to distinguish the Royal Italian Opera from its rival. Within two years, French opera, and in particular Meyerbeer's grands opéras, had displaced Donizetti, Bellini and Rossini at the centre of the repertory;

German operas, too, were regularly presented. Full length ballets were omitted and short dances were limited to scenes incidental to operas. As Gye expanded his influence over artistic and financial decisions and eventually became sole lessee in 1851, he developed this competitive concept still further by attempting, not always successfully, to preempt and counter Lumley's plans for new operas and artists. Under Gye's management, the Royal Italian Opera thus acquired a distinct identity and developed into a formidable opponent of Her Majesty's.

In February 1847 Galletti showed Gye proofs of the Royal Italian Opera prospectus. His reaction was characteristically succinct: 'I found it a mere programme & no address to the public & pointed the fault out to Galletti'.[23] If the Royal Italian Opera was to compete successfully with Her Majesty's, it would have to entice its potential audience with a precise strategy. Simply publishing a list of names did not clarify the intentions of the new managers.[24] Gye's own prospectuses for 1849 onwards indicate that he recognised the importance of a well-presented and explicit programme in such an intensely competitive climate.[25] Set out in a bold and frequently ostentatious style, his prospectuses highlighted the success of past seasons and included detailed plans for the coming season. Initially, Gye still considered it necessary to allude to the serious financial difficulties under which the company had to operate and impressed upon his audience the extent of his achievements under these testing conditions.[26] Soon, however, such admissions were considered superfluous, possibly even inopportune given the increasingly bitter conflict with Lumley. For the prospectus published at the height of the managers' rivalry in 1852, Gye adopted a style positively overflowing with self-confidence:

> the Directors feel it almost unnecessary to repeat their assurances, or to reiterate their pledges of former seasons, as to the future conduct of this great lyrical establishment; hoping that the manner in which they have hitherto conducted it will be accepted by their patrons as the best guarantee for its future management.[27]

Following the closure of Her Majesty's at the end of the 1852 season, such bluster became dispensable. The Royal Italian Opera prospectuses for 1853 to 1855 therefore focused primarily on providing detailed information on the seasons' artists and programmes.

Throughout his tenure Gye focused his primary attention on creating and maintaining a viable and distinctive opera company. Ballet, on the other hand, which for more than a century had formed an integral part of the repertory at London's opera house, quickly ceased to be of any particular significance. Initially, financial constraints were the key incentive for abandoning large-scale ballet productions. Charged by Delafield in 1849 with reducing the company's expenditure, Gye immediately identified the ballet as one of the principal financial liabilities and consequently enforced a reduction of the ballet company's size and repertory.[28] Gye must also have been aware of the immense discrepancy in quality between the ballet representations at the two rival opera houses. At Her Majesty's, audiences could admire a brilliant assembly of Europe's best dancers, including Carlotta Grisi and Fanny Cerito. Jules Perrot and Paul Taglioni were engaged as ballet masters, in which capacity they created a host of highly successful new ballets.[29] By contrast, Fanny Elssler had almost singlehandedly sustained the ballet at the Royal Italian Opera in 1847, while the 1848 season was also carried by a single star, Lucile Grahn, who had previously been engaged at Her Majesty's. The ballet repertory, too, was weak; the majority of new ballets in 1847 were by the aging Albert [Ferdinand Albert Decombe], one of the two maîtres de ballets, and

Giovanni Casati from La Scala, while Delafield relied on a M.Appiani for most new works in 1848.[30] To improve this department would have required a substantial financial commitment, which the Royal Italian Opera could clearly not afford. Reducing the ballet company was therefore probably the only viable option. Gye insisted, however, that high standards were maintained: 'we must have 4 secured dancers (female) as however petite it might be it [the ballet repertory] must be done respectably'.[31] The small number of dancers engaged between 1849 and 1852 were accordingly drawn from the principal Continental ballet companies and included well-known dancers such as Pauline Leroux and Louise Taglioni (Table 2, p.100).[32]

In addition to omitting full-length ballets, Gye also appears to have taken the opportunity to make still further-reaching changes to the format of the programme. The evenings' entertainment now frequently consisted of one single opera. When this was considered insufficient to fill an entire evening, single acts or scenes from other operas were added to the end of the programme.[33] Dances incidental to operas were retained, but Gye abandoned the practice of programming divertissements, however short, in between the acts of the opera. The considerable length of grands opéras must have made such a modification seem prudent. Yet, one is also tempted to speculate that this innovation signalled a different approach to operas as integral artistic entities which ought not to be interrupted by unrelated interludes.[34] While Gye vehemently refused to reinstate the former custom in 1853, his diaries, however, provide scarce direct support for such an assessment.[35] Rather, they suggest that financial considerations were much more important, even after 1849. With the closure of Her Majesty's in 1852, a reintroduction of longer ballets became feasible and enabled Gye to

satisfy his audience's demand for such works.[36] He nevertheless refused to return to the former grand scale as the ballet company remained comparatively small (Table 2, p.100); star dancers were employed only on occasion and the repertory was usually limited to medium-length divertissements.[37]

Gye's artistic concept for the opera repertory was based on an acute awareness of his audience's taste, a need to balance the theatre's finances and a determination to rise to the pressures of competition. The notion of building up a stock of operas which would form the core of the repertory and which would be enlarged annually with successful new productions was central to his strategy. Audiences would thereby be assured a highly diverse repertory comprising both favourites and novelties, while the company would benefit financially through the potentially considerable savings in productions costs inherent in the scheme.[38] This approach in itself was not especially innovative; most opera and theatre companies were, through financial necessity, regulated by a similar routine. Yet Gye was almost certainly the first English manager to promote publicly the creation of such a reservoir of works. By extension, one might argue that Gye was one of the first to advance the creation of a canon of operatic works, though he himself would certainly not have considered his policy in such terms. His scheme nonetheless achieved exactly that, as it was under his regime that many operatic works became a standard feature of the repertory, a position which they were to retain until the late 1870s and beyond.[39] His was a long-term strategy, one focused not merely upon the survival of the next season, but directed instead towards the establishment of a stable company. This enabled Gye to foster a varied and frequently original programme throughout the 1850s.[40]

Gye first came close to spelling out his long-term plans in the 1849 prospectus by listing the full repertory of the Royal Italian Opera, numbering a total of 23 works. The addition of three to six operas each season doubled this figure to 46 by 1855.[41] Gye attached great importance to the fact that these works could be presented 'at a few hours' notice', as this enabled him to accommodate short-term programme changes.[42] Failed new productions could be rapidly withdrawn, a benefit most dramatically demonstrated during the production of Benvenuto Cellini in 1853. Prompted by the disastrous first night on 25 June, Berlioz cancelled all subsequent performances; Gye instead scheduled repeat performances of several repertory operas, a decision which apparently caused no discernable logistical problems.[43] Furthermore, indispositions of singers and other artists could be countered more readily, as works could be substituted at short notice, if necessary several times during the course of one day.[44] During the first few seasons singers' illnesses occasionally necessitated drastic changes to the programme, such as the abridgement of operas and the casting of singers unfamiliar with particular productions, and could even bring on threats of temporary closure.[45] Due to the expanding repertory, such radical measures were far less common after 1851. And lastly, requests for specific operas from members of the Royal family, of which Gye was at times notified only a day or two in advance, could also be satisfied.[46]

Parallel with the gradual increase in the number of repertory works, the range of operas was greatly expanded from 1848 onwards. While Her Majesty's continued to rely on contemporary Italian works, grands opéras soon formed the mainstay of the repertory at the Royal Italian Opera and a limited number of German operas were also

presented. This was a remarkable departure, as neither French nor German operas had previously formed a regular feature of London's Italian opera house repertory.

By programming these works, Delafield and Gye sought to respond to an aesthetic that increasingly appealed to both the company's directors and their audience.

> Went to Opera Comique & saw the 3d representation of Meyerbeer's new opera L'Etoile du Nord it played with long entreacts - 4 1/2 hours - There are many very pretty & taking melodies in it & good effective choruses - the speaking part of the libretto is very good which keeps up the interest which would suffer in recitative - It will I should think have a temporary success but never keep the stage like the Huguenots, Prophete &c.[47]

As Gye evaluated new works he saw in Continental opera houses, he consistently praised the presence of melody and of dramatic tableaux that created a good "effect" in the theatre.[48] Good orchestration, effective choruses, as well as variety and continuity in the plot were secondary to the basic qualities of melody and effect. Gye also paid much attention to spectacular stagings, novel dramatic and scenic techniques, and singers' capabilities to convey the drama. These criteria reflected the distinguishing characteristics of grand opéra. Hence some Classical and contemporary German works, such as Orfeo e Euridice, Tannhäuser and Euryanthe, were viewed by Gye as unsuitable for the London stage: 'Went to hear Euryanthe at the opera - the whole opera is much too heavy & devoid of melody for England'.[49]

The funds required to present grand opéra in particular were considerable and may have deterred Lumley from programming this repertory. Delafield and Gye on the other hand were seemingly more willing to make the necessary investment. On the first production of Les Huguenots at the Royal Italian Opera in 1848, Gruneisen noted:

> it is only since the formation of a second Italian company at Covent Garden, that sufficient resources have been supplied to mount such a work.[50]

The financial gains which productions such as Les Huguenots brought the lessees, as well as the distinctive schedule they were able to create, must have made the required investment seem a calculated risk. No doubt Delafield and Gye, as most other European opera impresarios, recognised not only the artistic but also the financial value of Meyerbeer's works.[51] The restrictions imposed upon Her Majesty's by the building itself were probably also to blame for Lumley's comparatively conservative stance. The relatively small stage and narrow proscenium limited Lumley's ability to stage grands opéras. Gye was able to extend his company's capabilities further in 1858 by constructing a significantly larger stage in the new theatre on which these productions could more readily be presented.[52]

Within weeks of having been confirmed as the new lessee of the Royal Italian Opera, Delafield initiated negotiations with Meyerbeer over the production of his operas in London. Unlike his predecessors, he was successful in persuading the composer to collaborate with the new opera house, principally one might suspect, because Delafield was willing to pay handsomely and was able to guarantee superior production standards.[53] During the initial months of the 1848 season Delafield presented a repertory not particularly distinct from that of the preceding season. The first London staging in Italian of Les Huguenots (as Gli Ugonotti) on 20 July 1848, however, was a landmark.[54] The comparative novelty of the work, the composer's involvement and the lavishness of its presentation marked a clear departure from the production strategy of the 1847 season; not surprisingly, Les Huguenots proved the most popular work of the 1848 season with ten

performances. Two further grands opéras, La favorite and Guillaume Tell (as Guglielmo Tell), were also presented, though with only moderate success. It was thus chiefly due to Les Huguenots that French operas accounted for a total of 21% of all performances in 1848 (Appendix 7). By contrast, French works constituted only 13% of the repertory at Her Majesty's, a reduction by half over the 1847 season. Lumley relied on revivals of works which featured Lind in some of her most acclaimed roles: La fille du régiment and Robert le diable.

In 1849, the proportion of French opera performances at the Royal Italian Opera more than doubled to 51%. Les Huguenots retained its popular hold on the repertory. To this were added two further important new productions: the London premiere of Le prophète and the first London staging in Italian of Auber's La muette de Portici (as Masaniello). French opera was now the focal point of the repertory and had reached a proportion which was to be sustained and indeed repeatedly exceeded until the late 1860s (Appendix 7). At Her Majesty's on the other hand, these works never accounted for more than 30% of the repertory until 1856 and commonly made up no more than 30% to 40% throughout the 1860s and 1870s.[55]

The prominent position which Meyerbeer's works had first enjoyed under Delafield was expanded significantly as Gye's influence on the artistic management increased. Performances of Meyerbeer's operas almost tripled from 14% of total nights in 1848 to 38% in 1849 and rose even further to 42% in 1850. Although these high levels were not sustained after 1852, Meyerbeer remained the principal French composer until 1878, as his works usually made up one quarter of all performances (Appendix 7).[56] Les Huguenots and Le prophète were revived annually until 1866, while Robert le diable was performed during five of seven

seasons from 1848 to 1855. Meyerbeer's unique position at the Royal Italian Opera was due not least to the directors' persistent negotiations with the composer himself, a contact which Delafield had initiated but which Gye strengthened still further on his regular visits to Paris. This enabled Delafield and Gye to present the English premieres of all of Meyerbeer's grands opéras as well as his opéras comiques L'étoile du nord and Dinorah (Le pardon de Ploërmel), and moreover ensured the composer's personal involvement in at least three of these productions.[57] Conversely, Lumley rapidly lost much of his influence with Meyerbeer and consequently staged none of his operas at Her Majesty's after 1849.[58]

Other French works also performed at the Royal Italian Opera during Gye's tenure include the major French operas by Donizetti and Rossini such as La favorite, Les martyrs (Il Poliuto), Guillaume Tell and Le comte Ory, Auber's Masaniello, as well as new works by Halévy, Berlioz and Gounod. These usually made up between 10% and 20% of performances, with those by Rossini and Donizetti typically accounting for at least one third and during the mid-1850s one half of this percentage (Appendix 7). In 1852 and 1853 French operas by composers other than Meyerbeer accounted for a total of 22% and 26% respectively. These figures reflect the record number of seven French works produced during both seasons as compared with an average of five during other seasons. Most of these works were revivals, but they also included the first London production of Donizetti's Les martyrs and the world premiere of Jullien's Pietro il grande in 1852, as well as the first London production of Benvenuto Cellini in 1853. It seems conceivable, that this conspicuous increase indicates an attempt by Gye to shift the emphasis of the repertory even further towards French opera, a move

which was also reflected in the formation of his company.[59] In this, Gye may have been reacting to Lumley's aggressive programming tactics of the preceding two seasons. Previously, the French repertory of Her Majesty's had been dominated by Donizetti's works, a policy which Lumley was to revert to in 1852 and again in 1856. In 1850, however, Lumley achieved considerable success with Halévy's La tempestà, an opera composed expressly for Her Majesty's; four of Auber's works, including the fiercely fought over production of L'enfant prodigue, formed the core of the 1851 season with 20% of all performances.[60] Initially, Gye may have considered the presentation of an even greater variety of French operas the only feasible response. Yet with the closure of Her Majesty's following the 1852 season, he was free to focus on compiling a repertory without having to consider any rival programme. Broadening the Italian repertory, formerly the domain of Her Majesty's, may now have seemed a more attractive policy, as it would provide greater diversity and attract audiences previously attached to Her Majesty's.[61]

From 1850 onwards, German opera became a standard, if secondary feature of the Royal Italian Opera programme. All works were chosen from the Classical and early Romantic repertory, a selection which apparently reflected Queen Victoria's and Prince Albert's preference for these works.

> the Queen wished me not to give the poor light operas but some worthy of the fine company of artistes, the orchestra &c I said unfortunately the Classical opera drew no money [and] that I had given the Flauto Magico, Faust, Jessonda &c under the idea that it would be pleasing to the Queen & Prince.[62]

Despite Gye's complaints, his desire to please the Royal couple was no doubt founded in the belief that their attendance at his theatre would improve overall receipts.[63] The Queen had already begun to attend the

Royal Italian Opera more frequently in 1849, undoubtedly on account of her and her husband's interest in French opera; six out of the seven operas she saw during that season were French. With the introduction of German works, the number of royal visits rose even further. Of the eight performances the Queen attended in 1851, six were German operas.[64] Furthermore, she repeatedly demanded the programming of specific German and French works and was liable to cancel her visits to the Royal Italian Opera when Gye was unable to fulfil her requests.[65] On each of her state visits to the Royal Italian Opera as well as Her Majesty's, German works were scheduled.

With the exception of the 1851 season, when Gye presented three German works, productions were limited to one per season; as a percentage of performances, German operas never accounted for more than 9%, excluding the 1851 season, when this figure rose to 13% (Appendix 7). The 1850 season, the first to include any German opera, opened with the first Italian production of Weber's Der Freischütz (as Il Franco Arciero) in London. In 1851, the year of the Great Exhibition, Gye added Die Zauberflöte (as Il Flauto Magico) and Fidelio. That same season, Lumley, too, showed a rather uncharacteristic interest in German opera, which it seems was spurred principally by an ambition to preempt Gye's programme and wreck his financial gains during this potentially highly profitable season. Just seven days before the Royal Italian Opera premiere, a rival production of Fidelio opened at Her Majesty's. Lumley had only been able to accomplish this coup firstly, because he had apparently been preparing the production in secret and secondly, because illness amongst Gye's artists and protracted discussions with Queen Victoria over casting had forced a postponement of the Royal Italian Opera premiere of Fidelio.[66] Lumley revived his

production of Fidelio in 1852 and also presented the English premiere of Casilda, an obscure work by the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. This was, however, far from sufficient to counter the staging of Spohr's Faust at the Royal Italian Opera, which was revised and conducted by the composer; according to Spohr's Autobiography, the production of this opera had been specifically requested by Queen Victoria, an assertion supported by the above quotation from Gye's diary.[67] Jessonda, again supervised by Spohr, followed in 1853.[68]

While many of the German and French operas were new to London audiences, the repertory of Italian works presented at the Royal Italian Opera was, until 1853, conventional and unchanging. Nine operas can be identified as the core Italian repertory: Semiramide, La donna del lago, Il barbiere di Siviglia, Otello, I puritani, Norma, Lucrezia Borgia, L'elisir d'amore and Don Giovanni. Due both to audiences' and singers' preferences as well as Gye's notion of creating a reservoir of works, these were repeated almost annually; many retained a similarly central position within the repertory until at least the late 1870s.[69] Despite the change of management in 1848, Rossini, Bellini and Donizetti continued to dominate the Italian repertory until 1853 (Appendix 7). The vast majority of additions to this repertory were also by these composers; the two exceptions, neither of which was particularly successful, were Cimarosa's Il matrimonio segreto, with two performances in 1849, and Nabucco (as Anato), with one performance, in 1850.[70] Given the innovative yet costly development of the French and German repertory, Delafield and Gye probably opted for this low-risk strategy for financial reasons. These Italian works were audience favourites which guaranteed high attendance if well cast and which could thus help to support the more progressive French and German works. Lumley adopted a similarly

conservative stance for the Italian repertory during the 1850s, though without balancing his programme in a comparable manner. In a marked change from the 1840s, Lumley now relied on the established operas of Bellini, Donizetti and Rossini, a choice which was probably forced upon him by the appalling financial state of the company. Verdi's operas which had featured so conspicuously at Her Majesty's with 25% and 23% in 1847 and 1848 respectively had declined to just 2% by 1851; his works regained their former prominence only on the reopening of the theatre in 1856.[71]

Although both Delafield and Gye relied on household names and well-established operas, Gye did introduce other significant alterations to the Italian repertory. In 1848 Italian works still accounted for 79% of all performances; almost half of these were of works by Rossini, while works by Bellini, Donizetti and Mozart made up the remainder (Appendix 7). Yet from 1849 onwards and corresponding with the growing importance of French opera, the proportion of Italian works declined dramatically to reach a low of 33% in 1852. Furthermore, performances of Rossini's Italian works were reduced to 11% in 1849 and were eclipsed by stagings of his French works in 1852 to 1853 and again 1855 (Appendix 7); at the same time, the number of performances of Rossini's Italian operas at Her Majesty's were raised to 32% and 27% in 1849 and 1852 respectively. Gye appears to have intended a similar policy for Bellini and Donizetti's operas, but the initial radical cuts were reversed in 1851 and 1852 respectively; neither composer, however, fully regained their prominent positions of 1847 (Appendix 7).[72] Parallel with the reduction in the number of performances of works by Rossini, Bellini and Donizetti, the proportion of opera buffa works also declined from one third of all performances in 1847 to 6% in 1853. Only after 1854, with the

general increase in performances of Italian works, did they again account for one fifth to one quarter of the repertory. Owing probably to the formation of his company, Lumley, by contrast, raised the number of opera buffa performances from only 10% in 1847 to between one quarter and one third of the repertory until 1852 and again in 1856.[73]

It was only from 1853 onwards, following the closure of Her Majesty's, that Gye showed a keener interest in Italian works. By 1854 their proportion had grown to a high of 67% of all performances, though this figure was adjusted downwards by 15% the following season (Appendix 7). The most marked change in the Italian repertory after 1853 was the emergence of Verdi's works.[74] Previously, only Ernani and Nabucco, both of which were regularly performed at Her Majesty's, had been intermittently staged at the Royal Italian Opera. Ridden of his competitor after 1852, Gye was now in a position to obtain performance rights to Verdi's latest works, Rigoletto and Il trovatore, and therefore began to schedule his works with greater frequency. By 1855 Verdi's operas made up 21% of the repertory; simultaneously, performances of works by Rossini, Bellini and Donizetti were again reduced (Appendix 7).

One of the most conspicuous features of the Royal Italian Opera repertory was the almost entire absence of any new works specifically commissioned for the company. During the 1840s and the early 1850s Lumley still presented such operas with some regularity: Verdi's I masnadieri in 1847, La tempestà by Halévy in 1850 and Thalberg's Florinda; or, The Moors in Spain in 1851. Gye, however, produced only one during his entire tenure at the Royal Italian Opera: Jullien's Pietro il grande in 1852. As will be argued in chapter six, the peculiar traditions of opera production in London, in particular the high regard

for adaptations and the popular demand for foreign "novelties", had reduced the importance of presenting commissioned works.[75] This comparatively conservative stance towards new works was reinforced by the financial constraints imposed upon the various managers. Persiani and Galletti almost certainly did not have sufficient funds to even contemplate commissions; all their capital was expended on refurbishing the theatre, assembling a new company and scheduling an entirely new opera season. Even though Delafield and Webster approached Meyerbeer for a new opera, similar pecuniary pressures possibly also induced them to abandon the potential inherent financial pitfalls and to opt instead for the security of presenting the English premieres of Les Huguenots and Le prophète.[76]

Gye too was wary of the financial risks involved, especially so during the later years of his tenure.[77] His agreement to produce Jullien's opera was gained only, when the composer agreed to forfeit any payments to himself.[78] Indeed, according to Fétis, Jullien paid for the entire production himself and incurred a massive loss of £16,000 due to the extensive production costs and the only modest success of the work. Jullien's inexperience in composing such large-scale works and the all too apparent musical and structural weaknesses of the opera itself may have reinforced Gye's cautious approach.[79] Adverse circumstances also played some part in Gye's failure to present other world premieres. Following the debacle over Benvenuto Cellini, Berlioz refused Gye's proposals for a new opera; Costa, too, declined an offer to compose a new work for the Royal Italian Opera, apparently for fear of 'having no time for rehearsals, &c' - an explanation which must be accorded some credence given the company's extensive repertory and consequently busy rehearsal schedule.[80] Even more frustrating were Gye's repeated

attempts to secure the premiere of L'africaine for the Royal Italian Opera. Continuous delays in the work's completion and Meyerbeer's uncertainty whether copyright regulations would necessitate its first performance in Paris prevented Gye from obtaining any firm guarantees from the composer. Following Meyerbeer's death in 1864 Gye eventually relinquished all rights to the premiere in a compromise deal with the director of the Opéra.[81]

Although world premieres were extremely rare, the Royal Italian Opera could boast numerous first London performances of French and Italian works as well as the composers' collaboration in several of these productions. From 1848 to 1855, between one and three operas annually were brought to London for the first time to be performed at the Royal Italian Opera. Fourteen such works were presented during this period of which, in correspondence with the general trend of the repertory formation, the vast majority were French (Appendix 8a).[82] Delafield and Gye were thus able to satisfy the public's preoccupation with "novelty" at a lower financial risk - that is, through the introduction of new works with proven success in Continental opera houses. It was precisely this criterion that Gye emphasised in his seasons' advertisements:

> A second opera, entirely new to this country, will also be given - viz, the Trovatore of Signor Verdi - a work which is now being performed at every principal theatre in Italy, and has during the past winter formed the chief attraction at the Imperial Italian Opera in Paris.[83]

Gye's conspicuous interest in seeking out new foreign works demonstrates the importance he attached to presenting a mixture of well-established and recent operas. Almost half of these works received their first performance in England at the Royal Italian Opera no more than two years after their world premiere (Appendix 8a).[84] Such a short time

lapse was of vital importance given the intense competition with Lumley and stood in marked contrast to earlier practices.[85] It was possible only because Gye paid annual visits to most principal Continental opera houses with the express purpose of hearing and concluding contracts for new works and new singers. These trips enabled Gye to attend rehearsals and premieres of important new works and to build up contacts with agents, publishers and composers. In general, the Royal Italian Opera was thus well ahead of its rival, as English premieres were not presented at Her Majesty's with equal regularity and the majority of works were staged at least three years after their world premiere (Appendix 8b). Failure to win English premieres could have grave financial consequences, as Gye was to experience in 1851, when he lost three such productions to Lumley: Fidelio, L'enfant prodigue and Zerlina; ou La corbeille d'oranges.[86]

For a number of these new productions, Delafield and Gye could also pride themselves in having secured the personal involvement of the composers. Spohr composed new recitatives to replace the original spoken dialogue of his Faust, supervised the rehearsals and conducted the first three performances at the Royal Italian Opera in 1852. He returned the following season to direct the rehearsals for Jessonda. Also in 1853, Berlioz rehearsed and conducted the notoriously ill-fated production of Benvenuto Cellini; he too made a number of revisions for this staging. Furthermore, Meyerbeer was involved in all but one of the Royal Italian Opera productions of his works. He composed new music for Les Huguenots and, although at the time resident in Paris, appears to have overseen the numerous alterations made for the 1848 production; he may also have written some new music for the 1849 production of Le prophète; and he composed new recitatives for his opéra comique L'étoile

du nord and oversaw the rehearsals in person in 1855.[87] Meyerbeer returned to London once more in 1859 to supervise the production of Dinorah. In terms of both financial benefits and artistic prestige the composers' collaboration was immensely important, as they guaranteed an aura of exclusivity to Royal Italian Opera productions which could be readily utilised for publicity, not least in the seasons' prospectuses.

> The production of this opera [L'étoile du nord] will, the Directors trust, be coupled by an event of the greatest musical interest - viz., the visit to this country of the renowned composer...; for although they are not authorised to announce positively such an intention on the part of M.Meyerbeer, still they have the best founded hopes that he will personally superintend the production of his work.[88]

Lumley had been able to entice Verdi to London for the premiere of his I masnadieri in 1847 and Halévy supervised the production of La tempestà in 1850. Yet he was ultimately unable to match his rival's sensational coup of engaging Meyerbeer.

4) Negotiations for Performance Rights

In securing new works for the Royal Italian Opera, the acquisition of performance rights was of prime significance, as such privileges could increase the opera company's financial gains considerably, not least as they prevented rival theatres from performing the same work.[89] The requisite negotiations were among the most complicated aspects of opera management since they involved composers, theatre managers, national and foreign publishers, as well as singers. Yet the pecuniary rewards were potentially immense, as such contracts guaranteed managers exclusivity to produce specific operas in England for several years, an especially important privilege given the rivalry between the Royal Italian Opera and Her Majesty's. Failure to win such agreements could on the other hand seriously unbalance finances and programming

schedules, and performance rights were therefore fiercely contested. Predictably, most conflicts between the rival managers were over French and more particularly over Meyerbeer's and Auber's works for, although Lumley was not primarily interested in French opera, he was evidently not prepared to concede such precious licences to his competitors.

Persiani and Galletti posed no threat to Her Majesty's, as their initial attempts to gain Meyerbeer's personal backing for the new venture failed months before the opening of the season. Whether Meyerbeer was even approached for specific performance rights is unclear and financial pressures at any rate almost certainly left the managers incapable of sparing any money on such contracts.[90] The acquisition of performance rights could be costly as Delafield's contract with Meyerbeer for Le prophète demonstrates. After one and a half years of negotiations with the composer, Delafield finally signed an agreement by which Meyerbeer was to receive 17,000 francs, approximately £680, for the exclusive publication and performance rights.[91] Meyerbeer himself claimed that the total payments of 44,000 francs (£1,760) for the performance and publications rights to Le prophète in England, France and Germany together were the highest he had ever received; Brandus paid 19,000 francs (£760) for the French and Breitkopf & Härtel 8,000 francs (£320) for the German publication rights. Lumley apparently made no attempt to intervene possibly, one might speculate, because he was not prepared or able to pay a similarly high fee.[92]

As Gye took control over the artistic management of the company, competition for performance rights between him and Lumley escalated markedly. This was due principally to Gye's far more aggressive programming strategy by which he regularly attempted to surpass

Lumley's artistic plans. Gye was not only interested in presenting new works, but also endeavoured to obtain the rights to and produce works for which Lumley as well was negotiating; Lumley in turn strove to respond with similar tactics. Gye's caution in matters of financial management might also have been responsible for the increased rivalry. As neither Gye nor Lumley could afford to expend large sums on performance rights, payment levels for these contracts were lower and rival bids therefore more viable. The highest price Gye was prepared to pay for performance rights appears to have been between £300 to £400; payment was normally made in several instalments during the course of the first season.[93] Yet these contracts could vary considerably, possibly depending on the importance of the work and the composer, as the negotiations for Benvenuto Cellini demonstrate.

Gye's unusual decision to programme a relatively untried work by a composer whose operatic credentials were not yet fully established may in part have been due to his long-standing personal contact with Berlioz.[94] Berlioz, probably keen to have his opera performed at a major opera house, was in turn willing to accept an exceptionally low fee, certainly significantly less than the £2,000 suggested by D.Kern Holoman.

> Berlioz came & I settled with him to do his opera Benvenuto Cellini & to buy the exclusive privilege of representation in England - to give him £32 - (merely for his travelling expenses - to pay the Italian translator £30 - & to pay for copying the score & parts.[95]

Gye was eventually sent a bill of 1,279 francs for the copying of the music on 2 May 1853; the 1853 Coutts ledger lists a corresponding payment to Berlioz of £51 4s on 17 May.[96] An earlier payment of £46 5s on 25 April 1853, also listed in the Coutts ledger, may conceivably have included an advance on Berlioz's travel expenses.

The managers' rivalry over performance rights first came to a

head in 1851. Both Gye and Lumley could expect to make considerable pecuniary gains from the 'succession of audiences assembled from all portions of the world' during the year of the Great Exhibition.[97] Gye evidently sought to impress these visitors by programming not only 'the grandest works of the Royal Italian Opera repertoire', such as Les Huguenots and Le prophète, but also novelties including Fidelio, and Auber's La corbeille d'oranges and L'enfant prodigue. Yet Lumley's attempts to preempt his rival's schedule were so successful that Gye not only forfeited the premiere of Fidelio to Lumley but, having failed to secure firm performance rights contracts with Auber, was also forced to cancel the productions of La corbeille and L'enfant prodigue which were instead presented at Her Majesty's.[98] Despite these immense setbacks, Gye was able to make a decent profit from this season, a sign not only of the immense audience numbers which must have filled the theatre, but also of the strength of the company's remaining repertory and artists.[99]

Gye had been told that Lumley had not acquired the rights to La corbeille, even though the opera had been announced in the prospectus for Her Majesty's. Gye accordingly entered into negotiations with the Parisian publisher and agent Louis Brandus and eventually agreed a fee of £300 for the performance rights.[100] Yet Gye never received the written agreement promised to him by Brandus and was therefore forced to resign his interest in the opera when told that

> I could not have it - as Auber had made a condition that Alboni should sing the part - I agreed to abide by this - but Brandus said he had only to execute his brother's commission!! - I had no written agreement!!![101]

Lumley was able to produce the opera later during the 1851 season, though whether he ever obtained the performance rights from Brandus remains unclear. Gye had not announced the production of La corbeille

in his season's prospectus and the general public therefore probably did not notice the loss of that opera.

The cancellation of L'enfant prodigue was far more public and financially more damaging. Gye had agreed with Brandus to pay £300 for the performance and publication rights to the opera, '£150 to be paid on the Score being delivered & £150 after the 2nd representation'.[102] Gye paid the first instalment, but refused further payments on the grounds that the 'music was in London, long before I had it'.[103] Gye himself had heard some of the ballet music performed at Drury Lane in March and had responded with a resolute affirmation of his rights in the season's prospectus.[104] Yet the collapse of Gye's production was probably not primarily due to this relatively minor incident, but rather to the discovery that Lumley also planned to stage L'enfant. Gye learnt of Lumley's intentions during the first week of June and in a furious letter, subsequently published for the patrons of the Royal Italian Opera, warned Lumley of the consequences of violating the performance rights agreement with Brandus.

> I now take the earliest opportunity of informing you... that by virtue of a certain assignment... the said Messrs. Brandus and Co... sold and made over to me the entire and absolute property, copyright, and right of representation, within the United Kingdom of Great Britain and the British Colonies, of the said opera... I further give you notice, that if after this notice you shall produce, or allow the said Opera, or any part thereof, or any adaptation or translation thereof... to be produced or represented at Her Majesty's Theatre or elsewhere, without my consent in writing... that any and every such production or representation will be at your own peril, and that I shall hold you responsible....[105]

Ignoring all threats of legal proceedings, Lumley gave the first performance in England of L'enfant (as Il Prodigo) on 12 June 1851; with eleven performances, this proved to be one of Lumley's most successful productions of the season. For reasons unknown, Gye appears not to have proceeded with any legal action against Lumley, but instead

withdrew his production.[106] Whether Lumley acquired the music to L'enfant by legal means is not known, though Gye's explicit contract with Brandus suggests otherwise. Illegal copying of music was not uncommon in London's theatres - the performances at Drury Lane indicate as much - or indeed the Continental theatres, and copy- and performance rights were no guarantee against such actions.[107]

Gye's attempt to obtain the performance rights to L'étoile du nord was similarly frustrated first by Lumley and then another unauthorised production at Drury Lane. Although the first London production of L'étoile had originally been promised to Lumley, Gye was able to enter into negotiations with Meyerbeer following Lumley's defeat in the lawsuit concerning the contralto Johanna Wagner in February 1854.[108] It nevertheless took Gye a full year to complete an agreement with Meyerbeer, as Lumley's continued interference enabled the composer to argue with Gye over casting. Meyerbeer had apparently insisted that 'the theatre which had the best troupe would have his new opera'.[109] While Lumley had no theatre and no financial means by which he could engage a decent company, Gye's finances threatened to be severely strained by the composer's exacting demands for singers.[110] Gye eventually engaged a cast which found Meyerbeer's approval, including Formes and Angiolina Bosio. Yet it was the manager's astute handling of Meyerbeer's sensitivity in another matter which finally secured him the opera and the composer's personal involvement in the production. During the lengthy negotiations for L'étoile a pirated and heavily abridged version of the opera was performed at Drury Lane - much to Meyerbeer's annoyance.

> The giving of his opera the Etoile du Nord at Drury Lane seemed very much to annoy [Meyerbeer] - he did not know whether they had got his score or not - if so of course by unfair means - I told him the best way to counteract the effect of such an inferior

> representation of his work was for him to come to London himself & personally superintend its rehearsals & production at [the] Royal Italian Opera - He said he had been told I had engaged Wagner (uncle to Johanna [Wagner] & composer of Tanhäuser[sic]) as chef d'orchestre & as this man had written much against him this circumstance if true would prevent his giving me the Etoile du Nord - I assured him I had never thought of such a thing - I also assured him I had no intention of giving one of Wagner's operas - ... - [Meyerbeer] required 6 weeks rehearsal - & that his opera should be given about the end of May - I told him if he would come it should not be given till he thought it ready - I told him in fact I would in every respect endeavor to satisfy him.[111]

Gye's commitment to accommodate Meyerbeer's every wish was indeed tested when the composer refused to come to London at the beginning of June, unless the premiere were postponed by three weeks to enable proper rehearsals of the opera.[112] This placed the premiere at the less profitable end of the season. Gye nevertheless immediately consented to the composer's demand and Meyerbeer eventually arrived in London one month before the rescheduled opening night. While Gye had thus managed to persuade Meyerbeer to supervise rehearsals, it appears he was ultimately unable to obtain the exclusive performance rights to L'étoile.[113] The publishers Beale and Chappell had earlier bought the publication rights for England for £600, but had apparently failed to 'register them properly under the International Copyright Act'; thus the Drury Lane staging could proceed unhindered and absolute exclusivity, the principal bonus of such rights, could no longer be guaranteed.[114] Gye therefore refused to pay for the privilege, and instead utilised the composer's personal involvement to distinguish the Royal Italian Opera production.[115]

5) The Company of the Royal Italian Opera: Influence on Programming

The formation of the repertory was linked not only to artistic policies by which managers sought to promote certain styles and genres, but also to the structure of the company. Artists influenced the programme through

both their propensity and preference for particular composers and works; on the other hand, the choice of repertory customarily required the engagement of particular artists. Moreover, the financial implications of engaging certain artists also had to be considered: not least due to the star system to which London audiences were long since accustomed, receipts tended to fluctuate in accordance with the popularity of individual singers. Artists were nonetheless not merely employed because they would enhance the financial or artistic standing of the Royal Italian Opera, but also because the managers wanted to prevent Lumley from assembling a good company.

Despite his apparently powerful position as the musical director of the company, Costa's influence on the programme was limited. It is not known whether his contributions to the company's first season extended beyond preparing the operas and ballets for presentation and conducting all performances. In 1848 and 1849, his duties were confined to such production matters.[116] During the Commonwealth season of 1850, Gye regularly consulted with Costa and Mario over the engagement of singers and other artists, as well as the scheduling of operas. Thereafter, however, Costa's influence was significantly curtailed, in part because he appears to have been unwilling to contribute actively to the artistic management, but more importantly, because he proved an uncooperative, unreliable and frequently irascible partner.

From 1848, Costa's relationship with Gye in particular and the management in general had been fraught, as Costa insisted on complete autonomy in matters of musical direction and deeply resented Gye's apparent attempts 'to interfere in his department'.[117] Despite their difficult relationship, Gye, like his predecessors, was highly dependant on Costa as he guaranteed high performance standards and ensured the

orchestra's loyalty to the company. Costa had also gained Meyerbeer's confidence and had been entrusted with the direction of all his operas.[118] The Royal Italian Opera could therefore clearly not afford to lose the conductor to the competing opera house. Indeed, the proprietors apparently considered his association with the theatre more important than that of star singers such as Mario.[119] By 1855, tension between the two men had nevertheless risen to such a degree that a termination of Costa's contract seemed a distinct possibility. In November 1854 Gye had agreed to a salary increase and had grudgingly assented to a number of other conditions under which Costa 'wanted to have a copy of the conditions of each artiste's engagement, to have the new operas fixed & the time of production of each determined'.[120] Gye's resentment over Costa's apparently arrogant stance during their meetings is well illustrated in his diary.

> [Costa] complained of Harris, Beverley simply because they did not bow to the ground to him & be entirely his servants!!! He wanted me to have only 3 nights a week saying he could not conduct a 4th - this means as he is at the Philharmonic on several Mondays he does not like any one else to conduct - this man wants to be the incarnation[?] of Covent Garden & for no one else to appear in the management of it - & the tyranny he would exercise would be fearful - He told me I was a great deal too much at the theatre!!!!!! - however I must for the present put up with all this & smile be courteous - what a dose[sic]!

It is a measure of Costa's importance that Gye eventually granted him many of these extensive privileges.[121] He parted with Costa only in 1869, when the standing of the company could be guaranteed without its association with this particular conductor.[122]

Costa's influence on the repertory is difficult to assess as reliable sources are limited. During the Commonwealth season Costa was able to halt a number of Gye's repertory proposals, including plans to produce La clemenza di Tito and to open the season with a performance of Rossini's Otello. He also insisted that only five instead of six new operas

were announced in the season's prospectus and rejected Gye's idea of having 'a 4th night in the week now & then with a light opera & the Danseuses Viennoises'.[123] Evidence suggests that after 1850 such direct interference in repertory decisions was almost non-existent. Costa did, however, maintain some control over the programme by withdrawing his support for particular works which he considered injurious to his or the company's reputation. He refused to conduct Pietro il grande, because he reportedly deemed the opera of insufficient quality; Berlioz's request to direct Benvenuto Cellini, too, was apparently turned down.[124]

Costa's involvement in the engagement of singers was also largely restricted to the Commonwealth season, when Gye discussed most contracts for the soloists with him.[125] Yet Costa was apparently not willing to assist Gye in a more practical manner by travelling abroad to hear new singers.

> I [Gye] offered to go to Brussels, Ghent & Vienna about Alboni, Mairalt & Ander if he would go to Paris & arrange other matters there, but he declined even to speak to anybody about an engagement - I now told him as I often have done before that he ought to hear the singers before they were engaged as he was the most competent judge.[126]

Gye therefore undertook these trips on his own and consulted Costa only sporadically after 1850, most notably on the engagement of Lablache in 1854.[127] Gradually, Gye in fact appears to have lost confidence in his conductor's judgement of singers:

> Costa advised me not to engage [Jan] Pischek - but I had done it - he said he sang very badly in Italian, but had never seen him act - he also advised me against Bosio I remember!![128]

The one department in which Costa reigned virtually supreme was the orchestra. He frequently mediated between the musicians and the management over contractual matters, and by 1855 had managed to negotiate the right 'to put who he liked in the orchestra & chorus'.[129]

It was only on the departure of Costa in 1869, that Gye was able to establish full control over this department; Costa's successors were consistently denied such rights.[130] Costa commanded immense authority amongst his musicians which arose not only from his undisputed artistic qualities, but also from his preeminent position as the conductor of the orchestras at both the Royal Italian Opera and the Philharmonic Society. Many of the theatre's instrumentalists were members of the Philharmonic Society and their allegiance to Costa as the principal conductor of the society's orchestra may have influenced their decision to abandon Her Majesty's for the Royal Italian Opera in 1847 and may have also ensured their loyalty to the new company thereafter.[131]

Persiani and Galletti had been able to recruit the core of an established opera orchestra from Her Majesty's, supplemented by musicians from Jullien's equally excellent ensemble.[132] In addition to the quality of individual musicians, the origins of the orchestra ensured a comparatively homogeneous ensemble which the competing opera house was unable to match. Deserted by most of his principal players, Lumley was forced to recruit a virtually new orchestra; his musicians were gathered from numerous Continental companies, in particular the Paris Opéra and Opéra Comique, and the theatres in Brussels, Turin, Palermo, Milan and Linz.[133] Performance standards at the two opera houses were accordingly distinct. Throughout the 1850s the exceptionally high quality of orchestral playing was one of the principal advantages the Royal Italian Opera had over its rival. Her Majesty's on the other hand struggled to maintain even a decent group of musicians. The comparative weakness of this orchestra created serious problems particularly during the first season, when a number of unsatisfactory woodwind players had to be replaced and the string section, too, was

considered in need of some improvement. As Balfe gained in experience, discipline and performance standards reportedly improved, but the orchestra was still deemed much inferior to that of its competitor.[134]

Consistency and quality in performance standards were among the stated principles of the first lessees of the Royal Italian Opera. To that end, Persiani and Galletti had assembled a troupe of singers which embraced 'the greatest and most varied talent in Europe'.[135] This was a policy to which their successors, too, were committed, not least because the engagement of such artists was critical in securing the backing of London's nobility, the public in general, and the theatre's creditors. In 1847 the company consisted of 21 singers, many of whom had previously been principals at Her Majesty's, including Grisi, Mario, Ronconi, Tamburini and Persiani. The size of the troupe expanded to an average of 26 singers during Delafield's and Gye's tenures (Table 2, p.100). This increase was possibly linked to the changed repertory structure and in particular the emphasis on grands opéras. Operas such as Les Huguenots and Le prophète required significantly larger casts than contemporary Italian works, and their regular revival conceivably necessitated the engagement of additional artists. Delafield and Gye renewed many of the contracts with the singers first employed by Persiani and Galletti. A core of between fifteen and twenty artists returned almost annually throughout the 1850s and many remained with the company until the 1860s and beyond. These included among the first tier singers Grisi, Castellan, Bosio, Viardot, Mario, Tamberlik, Ronconi, Formes and Zelger, and among the second and third tiers Cotti, Didiée, Lucchesi, Mei, Stigelli, Soldi, Tagliafico and Polonini (Appendix 3). The Royal Italian Opera could thus rely on a large, quasi-permanent company of exceptional quality.

While all the principal singers could command a substantial following in their own right, the real achievement of the new opera house was to transcend beyond the presentation of individual stars to the creation of an ensemble of top-class performers. Gruneisen had early on maintained that 'No single celebrity can sustain either Her Majesty's Theatre or the Royal Italian Opera. No! there must be the ensemble'.[136] Similar demands had also been made by other opera managers, not least Alfred Bunn, who lamented the hold of the star system on London's opera houses.[137] Already one year after the establishment of the Royal Italian Opera, it seems that audiences perceived and applauded a distinct change.

> The policy of the directors of the Royal Italian Opera during the present season, as during the last, has been to rely on the excellence of the ensemble rather than upon the prepondering influence of any one particular star; and by this means only have they been enabled to make head against the unexampled popularity of Mademoiselle Jenny Lind at the rival establishment...[138]

Although the Royal Italian Opera boasted a host of celebrated singers, it was evidently their skilful combination in particular operas, as well as the high quality of the troupe as a whole which enabled the new company to survive the competition. The creation of an ensemble during Persiani's and Galletti's tenure furthermore provided the artistic foundation upon which their successors could build. It would have been unthinkable for Delafield and Gye to contemplate the programming of grands opéras without being able to draw upon such a sizeable ensemble of excellent soloists. Many of these works focused not solely on a few principals, but also included a host of minor parts which required good second tier singers.

Lumley, by contrast, seems to have shown little interest in developing an ensemble which might rival that of the Royal Italian Opera

and instead continued to rely on the star system. His emphasis of the Italian repertory made such a policy possible and indeed to some extent eliminated the need for a large ensemble. Lumley's star singers, foremost among them Jenny Lind and Henriette Sontag, usually appeared only in a small number of works in which they excelled, while the remainder of the repertory was sustained by second rate artists. The supporting roles, too, were often cast inadequately. A distinct lack of overall quality was the inevitable result, as a report to Meyerbeer on the opening night of I Lombardi in 1847 suggests:

> Die Italiäner sind mit den "Lombardi" total durchgefallen. Es war eine erbärmliche Vorstellung. Die Borghese hat gar keine Stimme, Collini und Mirate eine zusammen. Letzterer hat eine abscheuliche Methode. Chöre schlecht.[139]

An analysis of the few extant box office receipts for the Royal Italian Opera suggests that the casting of individual stars alone did not guarantee a full house. In 1848 for example, attendance at Viardot's eagerly awaited first appearance in La sonnambula was poor and her first performance in I Capuletti e i Montecchi resulted in a 'bad house'.[140] A number of Grisi's appearances that same season also failed to generate substantial income; box office receipts for Semiramide on 4 April were a low £190 and I puritani brought in only £158 on 15 April.[141] In exceptional circumstances, individual artists were, however, able to draw immense crowds to the opera house. During Grisi's farewell season of 1854 her appearances regularly brought nightly box office receipts well over £500, and her benefit night resulted in £1,650, the highest box office receipts Gye had ever taken on a single night; audiences were evidently desperate to attend what they thought were Grisi's very last performances in London.[142]

It was only in the 1860s, with the advent of Adelina Patti and an increasingly conservative programming schedule, that the theatre's

income became more exclusively dependant upon individual singers.[143] During the 1840s and 1850s, attendance and performance frequency were governed more consistently by the popularity of certain works and composers, as well as the casting of an ensemble of celebrated singers. A few statistics might act as an illustration. The three most frequently staged operas in 1847 - Semiramide, Le nozze di Figaro and Lucrezia Borgia - were performed by the same quartet of singers: Grisi, Alboni, Lavia and Tamburini; significantly, the latter also included Mario. Lucrezia Borgia and Les Huguenots were revived annually with a cast that featured Mario and Grisi in the lead parts; these performances regularly brought nightly receipts well over £260 and £500 respectively. Similarly, Viardot's and Mario's appearances in Le prophète during the seasons of 1848 to 1851 seemed to guarantee nightly receipts over £500.[144]

While the creation of an ensemble was vital to the company's artistic survival, it also seems indicative of the managers' conservative stance towards the selection of singers. During the first decade of its existence, the Royal Italian Opera relied principally on established singers, as its managers could ill afford the financial risks involved in presenting untried talents. The majority of new singers had previously been engaged at major Continental opera houses and had a proven record of success. It was not until the 1860s that Gye showed a more consistent interest in finding new singers with star promise; most notably, he gave Adelina Patti and Emma Albani their first major contracts, thereby launching their international careers.[145]

Gye's diaries and in particular his travel diaries provide the most detailed record for this period of the procedures involved in the recruitment of singers. In identifying artists, Gye depended largely on

the recommendations of singers already engaged to him, as well as his contacts among Continental opera managers and composers. To a lesser degree, he also trusted the judgement of booksellers, publishers and singers' agents based in London. While Gye often relied solely on such advice when engaging secondary singers, he usually insisted on hearing new principal artists himself.[146] In early autumn and immediately before the start of the London opera season in late winter, Gye travelled to the Continent to secure or finalise contracts with his established stars, to hear his singers in new roles, and to seek new singers. The regularity with which Gye undertook these trips appears to have been unusual. During the late 18th century, London's opera managers had relied almost exclusively on private and professional agents for information on singers and had concluded most contracts by post. As late as 1827, the then manager of the King's Theatre John Ebers continued to draw on similar contacts, though he also engaged a director who undertook such journeys and occasionally travelled abroad himself. It was only during the 1830s that managers such as Bunn appear to have begun to make these trips themselves.[147] With the increased competition after 1847, Gye may have preferred to engage artists in person rather than to rely on third parties who might easily desert to the rival company or fail to conclude secure contracts.[148]

Gye had a clear sense of the qualities he expected a singer to possess: a sizeable voice, a fluid, legato style, linguistic command, acting ability, stage presence, and, if possible, good looks. In assessing a singer, Gye frequently also commented on the overall "effect" of the artist's performance, a term closely linked to the vocabulary he used to characterise operas. Two extracts from Gye's diaries might act as examples of his style of criticism:

> [Jenny Ney] has a beautiful liquid voice as agreeable & as musical as any I ever heard - sings with great expression & dramatic effect has good execution but rather wild & daring - is a good actress & the best actress of Norma I ever saw except Grisi - She is very ugly short & rather fat - squints - yet I think her quality as a singer & actress quite make up for her personal defects.[149]

> Madlle Wagner is a tall, handsome woman about 24, fair with beautiful eyes hair & teeth & very graceful... her voice is of great compass (mezzo soprano) is clear powerful & good in all parts; she sings perfectly in tune & acts well but wants a little good Italian tuition - she would hold an excellent position in London or Paris & bids fair to be one of the first singers in Europe.[150]

In addition to these artistic qualities, the engagement of particular singers was dependant on the repertory plans. The scheduling of certain operas and the emphasis placed on particular genres often coincided with the arrival of artists who excelled in these works. Such trends are most conspicuous in the French and German repertories. With the introduction of Meyerbeer's works in 1848, Viardot and Roger came to London and Castellan moved from Her Majesty's to the Royal Italian Opera; when Viardot was unavailable in 1852 and 1853, performances of his operas declined, a decrease which was accelerated in 1854, when Gye lost Castellan (Appendix 7). Similarly, the engagement of the coloratura Anna Zerr enabled Gye to produce Die Zauberflöte in 1851 and 1852, as well as Spohr's Faust in 1852; with Zerr's departure at the end of the 1852 season, revivals of either work could not be contemplated (Appendix 7). In the Italian repertory, comparable tendencies can be observed. When Lumley was able to secure Alboni for his company in 1849, a number of Rossini's works in which she had excelled were taken out of the repertory altogether, including Tancredi and La cenerentola (Appendix 7); the proportion of these works rose correspondingly at Her Majesty's. Following Gye's engagement of Lablache in 1853, several opere buffe were staged, including Don Pasquale, which allowed the bass to shine in some of his

most renowned parts.

It is unclear whether specific roles were customarily stipulated in contracts, though most principal singers were engaged for particular operas either at their own or Gye's request. Gye later insisted that he 'had never given any artiste an exclusive right to any one part', but a number of stars were apparently able to include a specific list of operas in their contracts and evidently considered some roles their own.[151] Thus Grisi had a virtual monopoly on many of the bel canto works, including Norma, Lucrezia Borgia and Anna Bolena, as well as La favorite and Les Huguenots; these operas were revived almost annually and were sung by another soprano only when Grisi was absent or indisposed. Similarly, Le prophète appears to have been reserved for Viardot; Grisi and Tedesco sang the part of Fidès during the seasons of 1852 and 1853 respectively, when Viardot was not employed.

The engagement of singers, like that of other artists and staff, was governed also by the competition with Her Majesty's. The managers of both opera houses had a constant eye on the composition of the rival company and were always ready to poach each other's artists if the occasion arose.[152] Counterbids for the engagement of potential new singers and other artists were an equally frequent occurrence. The transfer of most of Lumley's principal singers and musicians to the Royal Italian Opera in 1847 was only the first, though also the most comprehensive of such desertions. Gye recorded around twenty instances between 1848 and 1856 in which individual singers, dancers, musicians and other members of staff were approached for engagements by both himself and Lumley; further transfers of singers, as recorded in the company rosters, suggest that the extent of poaching was even greater.

The principal aim of such schemes was to limit the potential success of the competing theatre's season, while the value of a particular artist to the own company was at times of secondary importance. The tenor Guiemard, whose voice Gye considered 'unequal - weak in the lower & upper notes', was engaged for one month in 1852 at the immense salary of £600 'to keep him from Lumley'.[153] Similarly, Gye agreed to pay the tenor Ander a comparably high salary, because he wanted to prevent the artist's employment at Her Majesty's.

> In fact his engagement is a very difficult question to decide. At R.I.O. by the side of Tamberlik & Mario he would do but little I am sure, yet at Lumley's where they have no one at all like him he might make more effect & enabled[sic] them to give operas which now they cannot do.[154]

Ander was eventually engaged by Gye to sing the part of Arnold in Guillaume Tell in 1852. Had Lumley secured Ander for Her Majesty's, he would presumably have been able to stage a significantly higher number of French operas than he was currently capable of.

The potential financial and artistic value of the soprano Johanna Wagner represented a severe escalation of this type of conflict between the two managers. Gye had received the highest recommendations of Wagner from amongst others Meyerbeer and had himself assessed her talents in enthusiastic terms.[155] After a failed attempt to engage Wagner for the 1851 season, Gye recommenced talks with her for the 1852 season, only to find that Lumley had already contacted the singer. Since Gye considered Wagner 'too good to be allowed to go to Lumley' and, moreover, hoped that she would be able to take over some of Viardot's parts, he was prepared to offer her a relatively high monthly salary of £300.[156] Wagner evidently considered this insufficient and instead signed an engagement with Lumley at £400 per month.[157] Lumley could now contemplate the expansion of his repertory to include

further French works and apparently planed to produce Le prophète for Wagner. The financial and artistic damage this might cause the Royal Italian Opera may have induced Gye to continue in his pursuit of Wagner's engagement, which eventually led him to capitalise on the first signs of a defect in her contract with Lumley.

> I soon found that there was a screw loose & she told me that Lumley's engagement compelled him to pay her £300- on March 15 but that she had not yet received it ... her father said of course L- had broken his engagement - I told them that no one was paid of Lumley's artists in Paris - that no preparation was made for the Prophet - also that he had been arrested in London - & that taking all these things together, it would be madness to give L. any more time when she now had an opportunity of escaping from an engagement which, surrounded as she would be by 2d & 3d rate artistes could but do her injury - her engagement with L- was for 3 months for £1200 - I offered her £2000- for 2 months & to take all risks of law suit on my shoulders - To this they agreed & after much hesitation & fear she signed her engagement.[158]

Gye thus triumphantly concluded the engagement of this illustrious artist, a privilege for which he was now prepared to pay a substantial sum.[159] Yet he was not to reap any benefits from this shrewd manoeuvre, as Lumley gained an injunction which barred Wagner from singing at the Royal Italian Opera.[160] Notwithstanding Gye's desperate attempts, the ban was not lifted and Wagner was eventually forced to depart without having sung a note at either theatre.[161] Gye was left facing a legal challenge by Lumley, who accused him of conspiring to break Wagner's contract and furthermore sought £30,000 in damages resulting from her non-appearance.[162] Although Lumley ultimately lost his case on both counts, the affair brought Gye considerable financial problems through the loss of receipts and the immense legal costs.[163]

It is a measure of the strength of Gye's company that the effect on the repertory was only temporary. He had planned to present Wagner in Le prophète at the beginning of the season, but was forced to postpone the opera by two months. In the meantime, Gye was able to programme,

at short notice, a number of popular revivals. The parts which Wagner had originally been intended for were shared between Grisi and Bosio. Thus Gye's foresight in creating a strong ensemble as well as a reservoir of repertory works enabled him to overcome the short-term problems created by the Wagner affair. While this episode at the time caused Gye much personal annoyance, as well as financial difficulties, it did not damage his company permanently. For Lumley, on the other hand, who could not rely on a similarly balanced ensemble or repertory, this conflict exacerbated his already precarious financial situation that would eventually force him to close his theatre at the end of the 1852 season.

NOTES

[1]Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London, i:27-29; Hall, 263-65.

[2]Jennifer Hall has calculated that operas by Rossini constituted 59% of the repertory at the King's Theatre between 1821 and 1831 and 30% between 1832 and 1841. Mozart's operas made up 11% and 7% respectively of the repertory during the same years; Hall implies that the majority of these productions were of his Italian, rather than German works, though both genres have evidently been included in this calculation. Operas by Donizetti and Bellini comprised 20% and 24% respectively of the repertory during 1832 to 1841 (Hall, Table 4 and 267-69).

[3]Jennifer Hall has calculated that Verdi's operas made up 11% of the repertory between 1842 and 1851 (Hall, Table 4). This average, however, obscures the significant decrease in the number of performances of Verdi's works during the late 1840s; see p.200.

[4]Loewenberg, 497. Two further productions, Der Freischütz and Fidelio, were staged by Bunn's German opera company in 1832 and should therefore not be considered part of the regular opera house repertory ([Johann F. Kind], Der Freischütz... As performed for the first time at the King's Theatre (London: G.Schulze, 1832); [Johann v. Sonnleithner, S.Breuning and G.F.Treitschke], Fidelio... As performed for the first time at the King's Theatre (London: G.Schulze, 1832)); see chapter three, p.161.

[5]Loewenberg, 720. Another notable production was that of Robert le diable in 1832. Very few artists of the resident company were, however, employed for this presentation, as Laporte was able to arrange the transfer of many of the singers and artists involved in the Opéra premiere; due to these special circumstances, the opera was sung in French (ibid., 736; see chapter three, p.154).

[6]Compare also the time-lapse between Continental premieres and first performances at the King's Theatre/Her Majesty's of the following operas: La donna del lago, 1819 (San Carlo, Naples), 1823 (King's Theatre); Fidelio 1814 (Kärtnertortheater, Vienna), 1834 (King's Theatre); Der Freischütz 1821 (Schauspielhaus, Berlin), 1832 (King's Theatre); Norma, 1831 (La Scala, Milan), 1833 (King's Theatre); Lucia di Lammermoor, 1835 (San Carlo), 1838 (Her Majesty's); Nabucco, 1842 (La Scala), 1846 (Her Majesty's).

[7]See chapter two, p.68 and note 8.

[8]Royal Italian Opera Prospectus, [6 April 1847]. Gruneisen may have assisted Persiani and Galletti in writing the season's prospectus (Hall, 355-56, 377-78).

[9]Persiani and later Beale gave Meyerbeer a similar explanation for the establishment of the Royal Italian Opera (Persiani to Meyerbeer, 15 Oct 1846, in Ciarlantini, 171-72; Meyerbeer, iv:179 (6 Jan 1847)).

[10]Hall, 249.

[11]ibid., 235; Rosenthal, 66; Guest, The Romantic Ballet in England, 83-127 and 138-143; ditto, Jules Perrot, 78-223; Cyril Ehrlich, First Philharmonic: A History of the Royal Philharmonic Society (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995) 68.

[12]Her Majesty's Theatre: Outline of the Arrangements for the Season 1847.

[13]Morning Chronicle, 2 Jan 1847, quoted in Hall, 377.

[14]By comparison, Lumley presented a far more precise list of new operas which he intended to produce; see p.185 and notes 16 and 17.

[15]English opera was not performed at either of the two opera houses. Bunn rented Covent Garden for a winter season of English opera and opera in English in 1848/49; this venture was entirely separate from the Royal Italian Opera season and has therefore not been included in the following discussion.

[16]Unless otherwise stated, all calculations for the repertory of Her Majesty's have been extracted from the repertory calendar made available to me by Jennifer Hall. The production of an opera commissioned from Mendelssohn with a libretto by Scribe and 'based on the Tempest', which Lumley had announced in his prospectus, failed to materialise as Mendelssohn rejected the script (Meyerbeer, iv:328 (21 Oct 1847); Henry F. Chorley, Thirty Years' Musical Recollections, 2 vols (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1862) i:295 and ii:115; Eric Werner, Mendelssohn: A New Image of the Composer and his Age, transl. Dika Newlin (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1963) 444-45). According to Gruneisen's highly biased account, Mendelssohn 'writhed in torture' on seeing Robert le diable at Her Majesty's and therefore withdrew his participation (Memoir of Meyerbeer, 16). Lumley later showed the libretto to Meyerbeer; it was eventually set by Halévy and first performed at Her Majesty's in 1850 as La tempestà (Meyerbeer, iv:346 (18 Dec 1847) and 587); see p.197.

[17]The production of Roberto Bruce, a pasticcio drawn from four of Rossini's operas, was announced in the prospectus, but may have been dropped from the performance schedule due to its controversial reception in Paris (Herbert Weinstock, Rossini: A Biography (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975) 238-40).

[18]Ernani ran for four and I due Foscari for five nights at Her Majesty's.

[19]Meyerbeer, iv:179-180 and 184 (6 and 20 Jan 1847).

[20]Meyerbeer's official excuse for cancelling his engagement with Lumley, already announced in the season's prospectus, was his preoccupation with family matters (ibid., 230 (8 April 1847)). Meyerbeer had made his attendance dependant on the engagement of Lind and a number of other renowned singers (ibid., 121, 155 and 164 (10 Oct, 1 and 9 Dec 1846). A pending lawsuit between Bunn and Lumley over Lind's engagement, which Meyerbeer was in danger of being drawn into, and the mediocre company assembled at Her Majesty's may in fact have been the real motives behind his withdrawal (ibid., 180-82, 227, 329,

540 and 560 (14 Jan, 2 April, 23 Oct 1847)).

[21]See chapter six, p.292 for Gruneisen's view of the 1847 production of Robert le diable.

[22]Jennifer Hall has strongly emphasised the 'principles of reform' upon which the Royal Italian Opera was founded and has identified a corresponding link between the political affiliations of the audience and the repertory at both opera houses (Hall, 353, 377, 398 and 402; see also chapter two, pp.87-88). While Hall's audience analyses indicate such a division well beyond 1847, the imprecision of the 1847 prospectus, the significant discrepancies between this advertisement and the actual repertory, as well as the far-reaching transformation of the repertory after 1848 would suggest that further research is required to clarify the extent of and motives for these affiliations.

[23]12 Feb 1847, Gye Diaries.

[24]Persiani and Galletti seem to have recognised the weakness of their prospectus, for in May they turned to Gye with the request of taking over the 'publicity' of the Royal Italian Opera during its second season (12 May 1847, ibid.).

[25]Gye was required to make only superficial amendments to the 1848 prospectus, which otherwise retained the format of the 1847 advertisement; he was solely responsible for the style of the prospectus from 1849 onwards (25 Feb 1848, 7 and 21 Feb 1849, ibid.; The Times, 3 March 1848 [season's prospectus]).

[26]ibid., 5 March 1850 [season's prospectus].

[27]ibid., 12 March 1852.

[28]14 Dec 1848, Gye Diaries; see chapter two, p.101.

[29]Guest, The Romantic Ballet in England, 138-39; ditto, Jules Perrot, 206-33.

[30]Casati was engaged intermittently as choreographer at La Scala from 1843 to 1857; a dancer by the name of Appiani was also listed as a member of that company from 1822 to 1828 (Carlo Gatti, Il Teatro alla Scala nella storia e nell'arte (1778-1963), 2 vols (Milan: Riccordi, 1964) ii:175-80, 190, 192-97.

[31]16 Feb 1849, Gye Diaries.

[32]Most dancers were drawn from the Opéra, but some also came from the theatres in Vienna, Brussels and later possibly Warsaw (15 Jan, 5 Feb 1852, 11 March 1853, ibid.; 9 Dec 1856, Gye Travel Diary; The Times, 12 March 1852 [season's prospectus]).

[33]Gye's plan to perform 'some piece of music with Chorus in order to fill up the evening when a short piece is played instead of doing a divertissement' had to be abandoned, probably because of resistance from Costa (2 April 1849, Gye Diaries).

[34]Jennifer Hall has suggested that music critics had begun to advocate such an attitude to operas from the mid 1830s onwards; performances of ballet in between acts were increasingly criticised from at least the mid 1840s onwards (291). Gruneisen spoke scathingly of the 'sensual ballet' when condemning the practice of altering operas to enable the production of ballets as the conclusion of the evening's entertainment; for a related discussion of producing operas in accordance with the composer's intentions, see chapter six, pp.292-93.

[35]11 May 1853, Gye Diaries. In possibly the only reference to this issue, Gye complained about a divertissement 'which was too long & out of place in the 1st act of the Opera [Maria di Rohan]' (27 March 1852, ibid.).

[36]The Times, 21 March 1853 [season's prospectus]. A year earlier, Gye had already given in to demands, 'very generally expressed by the subscribers', for short divertissements which were 'to be performed on those evenings when the opera given is not sufficiently long to form the evening's entertainment' (ibid., 12 March 1852 [season's prospectus]).

[37]6 July 1853, Gye Diaries; see chapter two, p.101. After the opening of the new opera house in 1858, Gye showed no further interest in presenting full-length ballet as part of his Italian opera season, but staged short divertissements after some operas (Ringel, 35).

[38]See chapter two, pp.98-99.

[39]For a similar development in Italian opera houses, see John Rosselli, The Opera Industry in Italy from Cimarosa to Verdi (Cambridge: CUP, 1984) 169-71. Jennifer Hall has suggested that a similar process of canon formation also began to take place at Her Majesty's during the 1850s (272). It is, however, important to note that Lumley did not advertise this as a distinct policy and was forced by financial circumstances to rely on revivals of established works.

[40]Changes to international laws governing performance and publication rights, as well as the complexity of the financial arrangements which resulted from the rebuilding of the opera house, ultimately led to a more static repertory at the Royal Italian Opera from the 1860s onwards (Dideriksen and Ringel, 21-22; Ringel, 58-75 and 142-55).

[41]Royal Italian Opera, 1849 season's prospectus; The Times, 2 April 1855 [season's prospectus]. These calculations were based on the repertory as performed at the Royal Italian Opera from 1848 onwards. Operas performed in 1847 and revived only in the 1850s were considered new additions to the repertory.

[42]ibid., 5 March 1850 [season's prospectus].

[43]Gye had earlier warned Berlioz that he considered 'the libretto of his opera too bad to do at R.I.O.' and that he would wish to see it altered before presenting it in London (16 March 1853, Gye Diaries). Gye's only, rather terse, comment on the opera's eventual failure was 'First night of Berlioz's opera Benvenuto Cellini - very much damned' (25 June 1853, ibid). For a full account of the circumstances surrounding the premiere of Benvenuto Cellini in London, see A.W.Ganz, Berlioz in

London (London: Quality Press Ltd, 1950) 154-70 and D.Kern Holoman, Berlioz (London: Faber and Faber, 1989) 442-45; see also chapter six, note 108.

[44]See for example 28 May, 11 June, 19, 21 and 22 July 1853, 30 May, 6 June 1854, Gye Diaries.

[45]See for example 6 June 1848, 1 April, 11 June 1850, 12 April, 22 May 1851, ibid. One of the most notorious of such instances was Roger's performance in Les Huguenots on 3 August 1848, when the tenor replaced Mario at short notice and 'sang the part in French altho he had never played it before' (8 Aug 1848, ibid); Viardot apparently switched to the hastily learnt French text half way through the performance, while the rest of the cast performed the opera in the standard Italian translation (Rosenthal, 77-78). Although this was a rare occurrence, two similar cases of principals performing in French amidst an ensemble singing in Italian have been traced (The Times, 25 July 1850, 19 June 1852).

[46]See for example, 14 April, 17 May 1851, 22, 23 and 28 June 1852, 4 July 1855, Gye Diaries; see also pp.197-98.

[47]1 March 1854, Gye Diaries.

[48]Compare chapter one, p.47.

[49]12 March 1854, Gye Diaries; 16 Nov 1853, 15 Oct 1854, Gye Travel Diaries; see also Dideriksen and Ringel, 4, 16. Other, more practical considerations probably contributed to Gye's decision to present French works. On the most basic level, Gye spoke fluent French but no other foreign languages. His francophilia may have been nurtured at a young age as his family took pride in its French heritage, tracing its ancestry to a Huguenot leader. These factors may in part explain Gye's preference early in his career for Paris over other opera centres as a destination for scouting trips.

[50]Memoir of Meyerbeer, 19.

[51]Compare chapter six, p.291.

[52]Ringel, 101; Survey of London, xxx:plates 31a and 32b, and xxxv:105; Leacroft, 188.

[53]See p.206.

[54]Les Huguenots had previously been performed in German and French by two foreign opera companies at Covent Garden in 1842 and 1845 respectively. For a detailed discussion of the 1848 production of Les Huguenots see chapter six, pp.300-304, 310, 312-13 and 327-30.

[55]See Ringel, 58-75, for the repertories at the Royal Italian Opera and Her Majesty's after 1861.

[56]Ringel, Table 4.

[57]See pp.204-205, 210-11 and chapter six, pp.323-27.

[58]In 1848 and 1849, performances of Meyerbeer's operas accounted for only 3% and 2% of total nights at Her Majesty's respectively.

[59]See p.223.

[60]See pp.209-10. There were also two performances of Balfe's opéra comique Les quatre fils d'Aymon (as I Quattro Fratelli) in 1851.

[61]See p.201.

[62]27 Feb 1854, Gye Diaries. It was only during the 1870s, under the influence of the soprano Emma Albani, that Gye began to programme works by Richard Wagner (Dideriksen and Ringel, 16-17).

[63]See chapter two, pp.89-90.

[64]Of the 47 performances attended by the Queen between 1848 and 1855, 21 were French, 10 German and 16 Italian works; although Prince Albert visited the opera less frequently, he too showed a markedly greater interest in French and German works during the same period. By comparison, Queen Victoria saw 10 French, 1 German and 17 Italian operas at Her Majesty's from 1848 to 1855. In both instances the Queen's attendance was in part a reflection of the performance schedules, yet the frequency of her visits to German operas at the Royal Italian Opera in particular was greater than the proportion of those works produced at that theatre.

[65]12 April 1851, 22, 23 and 28 June 1852, 11 March 1854, Gye Diaries.

[66]14 April, 17, 22 and 23 May 1851, ibid.; The Times, 21, 22 and 27 May 1851; 'Mr Gye to the editor of the "Morning Herald" newspaper', pamphlet, 14 June 1851, Gye Correspondence, Folder no.3, ROHA). See pp.207-10 for further rival schemes during the 1851 season.

[67]Louis Spohr's Autobiography, translated into English [anon.], 2 vols. (London: Reeves & Turner, 1878) ii:302. This later section of Spohr's so-called autobiography was written and complied by members of his family; see also Clive Brown, Louis Spohr, A Critical Biography (Cambridge: CUP, 1984) 323-30. Spohr received a minimum salary of £150 for his work at the Royal Italian Opera (17 July 1852, Coutts ledger).

[68]Jennifer Hall has argued, that the aesthetics of German culture, and more specifically German opera, were highly influential amongst music critics working in London during the 1840s and 1850s (279-87). In particular, she discusses the development of a 'work-oriented' approach in music criticism based on an appreciation of German operas, as opposed to an 'event-oriented' approach based on that of Italian opera (291-97). Yet Hall provides no insight into how French opera, the predominant operatic culture in London throughout the 1850s and 1860s, was viewed by these critics or how they related it to this concept. Hall has acknowledged, that audiences, singers and opera managers alike responded only belatedly to the new aesthetics advocated by the music critics. Her analysis nonetheless gives the impression that London's operatic culture was dominated by German music and fails to recognise fully the importance of French works at the Italian opera houses.

[69]See p.222 and Ringel, Table 2.

[70]For a brief discussion of Nabucco, see chapter six, pp.299 and 310.

[71]Based on her analysis of the repertory presented at Her Majesty's in the 1840s, Jennifer Hall has erroneously argued that 'Her Majesty's thus performed the works of the most popular and recent Italian composers' until the early 1850s, while Covent Garden relied on 'older operas' by Meyerbeer and Rossini 'during the first few seasons' (378).

[72]From 1849 and until the theatre's closure at the end of the 1852 season, the proportion of Bellini's and Donizetti's works at Her Majesty's was relatively constant at between 13% and 19%.

[73]See pp.212-22.

[74]Apart from works by Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti, Mozart and Verdi, the only other Italian opera presented at the Royal Italian Opera from 1850 until 1855 was Gnecco's La prova d'un opera seria in 1854; excerpts of this opera were performed frequently throughout the late 1840s and 1850s.

[75]See chapter six, pp.287-88.

[76]Meyerbeer, iv:336 (11 Nov 1847).

[77]See Ringel, 71-75 and 169.

[78]The librettist Desmond Ryan was to receive 'for the libretto £50 - & £2.2.- per night for each performance' (8 June 1852, Gye Diaries). Gye evidently also tried to make savings elsewhere, when he agreed to give one of the principal dancers, Madlle Adrienoff, a unspecified present in lieu of a salary for her appearance in the opera's 'national dances' (6 Aug 1852, ibid; The Times, 17 Aug 1852).

[79]F.J.Fétis, Biographie universelle des Musiciens, 8 vols, 2.edn. (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1883) iii:455. The failure of Pietro il grande must be ascribed foremost to the inferior quality of the opera (Chorley, ii:188-90; Cox, ii:249-50). This was Jullien's first and only attempt at grand opéra. He had apparently taken lessons from Fétis prior to composing the opera, but his inexperience in handling complex ensemble numbers and retaining musical interest throughout pieces longer than his usual Quadrilles, as well as the general scarcity of original musical ideas are all too apparent. A miserable libretto only adds to the opera's poor quality; see also p.214 (D.Ryan, Pietro il Grande... As represented at the Royal Italian Opera... (London: T.Brettell, [1852]), printed libretto submitted to the Lord Chamberlain's office, 12 Aug 1852, BL.Add.52,933W; L.Jullien, Selection from Pietro il Grande, as performed at The Royal Italian Opera... [London: Jullien & Co?, 1852]).

[80]Berlioz to Liszt, 10 July 1853, transcribed in Ganz, 169; 18 Oct 1855, Gye Diaries.

[81]15 Jan, 30 Oct 1851, Gye Travel Diary; 21 and 30 July 1859, Gye Diaries; Dideriksen and Ringel, 19-20. Gye also announced the production of a new opera, Juana Shore, by a Signor Bonetti (of Paris)

in 1853; it is unknown why this commission did not materialise.

[82]For a full list of works brought to the Royal Italian Opera by Gye for their first performances in England until 1878, see Dideriksen and Ringel, Table 1.

[83]The Times, 2 April 1855 [season's prospectus]; see chapter six, p.288.

[84]Jennifer Hall's argument that the Royal Italian Opera 'performed works much older than those staged at Her Majesty's' accordingly holds true only for the 1847 and 1848 seasons (378, 380, 403).

[85]See p.181 and note 6.

[86]See p.198 and note 151 for Fidelio, and pp.208-10 for La corbeille and L'enfant.

[87]For a more detailed discussion of the operas listed in the preceding paragraph, see chapter six. Gye also endeavoured to commission alterations for Guido e Genevra from Halévy; these negotiations failed and the production, though announced in the 1850 prospectus, was consequently cancelled (21 Jan, 13 Feb 1850, Gye Diaries). Gye in later years continued to seek the personal involvement of composers including Auber and Wagner (27 March 1857, Gye Travel Diary; 1 April 1857, Gye Diaries; Dideriksen and Ringel, 17).

[88]The Times, 2 April 1855. For details of Gye's negotiations and contract with Meyerbeer, see pp.210-11.

[89]In England, as in many other European countries, the rights of representation were treated as separate from the rights of publication. A number of 18th-century rulings had secured composers the copyright to their music. Through the 1833 Dramatic Copyright Act composers working in England were granted publication as well as performance rights for 28 years; the Talfourd's Act of 1842 extended the time frame to 42 years or the duration of their lifetime plus another seven years after their death. Foreign composers became entitled to legal protection and remuneration on all performances and publications of their music in England a series of reciprocal agreements: treaties with France, Italy and Germany were completed in 1852, 1860 and 1885 respectively (Opera Grove, i:943-46. For a detailed examination of performance and publication rights as they relate to grand opéra, see Christian Sprang, Grand Opéra vor Gericht, UFITA-Schriftenreihe no.105 (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1993).

[90]See p.185.

[91]The exchange rate of 25 francs to the pound has been drawn from Gye's diaries (23 Oct 1850, 9 June 1853, 16 March 1854, Gye Diaries; 2 Jan, 19 Oct 1851, Gye Travel Diaries).

[92]Meyerbeer, iv:488 (April to June 1849). Negotiations commenced in January 1848 (ibid, iv:352 (8 Jan 1848)). Gye later bought the English performance rights from Delafield for only £25 (4 March 1852, Gye Diaries).

[93]Gye modified the financial arrangements during later years, when payment was spread over several seasons (Ringel, 147, 152-53).

[94]Gye had first met Berlioz in 1847, when he was engaged to conduct a series of operas as part of Jullien's English opera season at Drury Lane (4 Nov to 31 Dec 1847, Gye Diaries; Ganz, 15-52).

[95]12 March 1853, Gye Diaries; D.Kern Holoman, 442; see also Berlioz to Gye, 6 April 1853, transcribed in Hector Berlioz: correspondance générale, ed. Pierre Citron, iv:1851-55 (Paris: Flammarion, 1983) no.1581.

[96]Berlioz to Gye, 2 May 1853, transcribed in Jacques Barzun, New Letters of Berlioz, 1830-1868 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1974) 106-109.

[97]The Times, 18 March 1851 [season's prospectus for the Royal Italian Opera]; the following quotation is also from this source.

[98]See p.198 and note 151 for Fidelio.

[99]See pp.219, 221 and chapter two, pp.83 and 87.

[100]28 Feb, 1 March 1851, Gye Travel Diary.

[101]17 March 1851, Gye Diaries. Gye's diary does not clarify which of the two brothers Brandus, Louis or Gemmy, called on him on this occasion.

[102]1 Jan 1851, Gye Travel Diary; the contract was apparently formally concluded on 2 January 1851 (Gye to Lumley, 11 June 1851, transcribed in 'Mr Gye to the editor of the "Morning Herald" Newspaper'). Gye had initiated negotiations with Brandus in December 1850, when he attended a rehearsal of the opera in Paris prior to its world premiere (2 Dec 1850, Gye Diaries).

[103]18 Nov 1851, ibid.

[104]8 March 1851, ibid.; The Times, 18 March 1851.

[105]Gye to Lumley, 11 June 1851, transcribed in 'Mr Gye to the editor of the "Morning Herald" Newspaper'. Rehearsals at the Royal Italian Opera were already under way by 29 April (The Times); all advertisements for the Royal Italian Opera production of L'enfant were suspended after that date.

[106]Gye's diary contains no entries for the period 25 May to 29 June 1851 and later entries make no reference to a possible lawsuit against Lumley.

[107]Gye was well aware of these practices as his comments to Meyerbeer several years later show: 'but you don't know yet that [E.T.] Smith has not got [the original score]... when it is played at some 50 Continental theatres it will be easy enough for English Managers to bribe some of the artistes' (2 March 1855, Gye Travel Diary).

[108]24 Feb and 1 March 1854, Gye Diaries; see pp.223-24.

[109]2 March 1854, Gye Diaries.

[110]See for example 15 to 17 March 1854, 2 and 3 March 1855, ibid, and Meyerbeer's letters to Brandus, 19 March and 26 April 1855, Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris. I would like to thank Sabine Henze-Döhring for granting me access and permission to quote from her transcriptions of Meyerbeer's correspondence and diaries 1855 to 1863 prior to their publication in Giacomo Meyerbeer, Briefwechsel und Tagebücher, ed. S.Henze-Döhring, vi (Berlin: de Gruyter, forthcoming).

[111]2 March 1855, Gye Travel Diary. Meyerbeer first heard of the Drury Lane production in December 1854 (Heinz and Gudrun Becker, Giacomo Meyerbeer: A Life in Letters (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1989) 152 (22 Dec 1854)). Reiner Zimmermann erroneously states that poor rehearsal standards for L'étoile led Gye to seek Meyerbeer's engagement (Giacomo Meyerbeer: Eine Biographie nach Dokumenten (Berlin: Henschel Verlag, 1991) 379).

[112]Meyerbeer to Brandus, 10 June 1855, Bibliothéque Nationale, unpublished transcription by Sabine Henze-Döhring; 14 June 1855, Gye Diaries.

[113]An undated note in Meyerbeer's 1854 Taschenkalender states: 'An Gye, donner la permission mais pas le droit de représentation à Coventgarden' [To Gye, gave the permission but not the rights of representation at Covent Garden (my translation)]; unpublished transcription by Sabine Henze-Döhring.

[114]27 Feb and 2 March 1854, Gye Diaries. Under the 1852 reciprocal copyright agreement with France, works published outside England had to be registered at Stationers' Hall within three months of their publication to acquire any protection under English law. For similar problems surrounding the 1863 production of Gounod's Faust, see Dideriksen and Ringel, 20-21 and Ringel, 151-54.

[115]Gye had earlier paid £100 to Meyerbeer's agent for the score of L'étoile (Coutts ledger, 25 April 1855; Meyerbeer to Brandus, 26 April 1855); see also chapter six, p.302.

[116]11 April 1848, Gye Diaries; see chapter six, pp.300-301 and 313.

[117]18 May 1848, see also 20 March 1848, Gye Diaries.

[118]See chapter six, pp.300-301.

[119]27 Jan 1851, Gye Travel Diary. Rumours regarding Costa's possible defection to a rival company resurfaced repeatedly during the 1850s (9 July 1852, 18 April 1853, 30 May 1854, Gye Diaries).

[120]16 Nov 1854, ibid. The following quotation is taken from the same diary entry.

[121]7 Feb, 30 and 31 March 1855, ibid.

[122]See Dideriksen and Ringel, 22-23; Ringel, 161-66 and 239-42; Forbes, 42-47.

[123]11, 14 and 19 to 21 Feb, 25 March 1850, ibid.

[124]15 July 1875, ibid; Berlioz to Costa, 20 April 1853 (Autographs V, musical and dramatic/ miscellaneous, 11, HTC); transcribed in Citron, no.1588.

[125]See for example, 26 Aug 1849, 14 and 21 Feb, 25 March 1850, Gye Diaries.

[126]10 Jan 1850, ibid.

[127]11 Jan, 1 and 7 Feb 1854, ibid.

[128]12 May 1854, ibid.

[129]31 March 1855, see also 22 Nov 1849, 17 April, 22 Sept 1850, 5 March 1851, 22 June, 1 Sept 1852, ibid. A similar clause was inserted in Costa's contract for 1858 (ROHA); for a transcription and discussion of this contract, see Ringel, Appendix C and 162-66.

[130]Dideriksen and Ringel, 22-23; Ringel, 163, 239-43.

[131]Significantly, one of the few musicians to remain at Her Majesty's, the viola player W.Watts, resigned as secretary of the Philharmonic Society in 1847 (Ehrlich, 23); Cyril Ehrlich concurred with this assessment in conversation with the author. Prosper Sainton, the orchestra's leader, followed Costa to the rival opera house in 1869 (Ringel, 242-43; Dictionary of Music and Musicians, iii:216).

[132]Full orchestra lists were published in most libretti throughout the late 1840s and 1850s as well as the 1847 prospectus; see also Carse 489-90.

[133]Carse, 186-87. Lumley was apparently unable to complete all necessary engagements of the lower ranks in time for the 1847 prospectus, which included the names of no more than nineteen principal musicians.

[134]Carse, 187; Cox, ii:199; George Hogarth, Memoirs of the Opera in Italy, France, Germany, and England, 2 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1851) ii:334.

[135]Royal Italian Opera Prospectus, [1847]; see also Meyerbeer, iv:179 (6 Jan 1847)).

[136]Morning Chronicle, 2 Jan 1847, quoted in Hall, 377. Beale also emphasised the 'excellence of ensemble' upon which productions at the Royal Italian Opera were to be based (Meyerbeer, iv:179 (6 Jan 1847)).

[137]See chapter three, p.164-65.

[138]The Times, 25 Aug 1848, quoted in Hall, 377; see also Gruneisen, The Opera and the Press, 11 and 18.

[139]Meyerbeer, iv:230 (8 April 1847). [The Italians had a complete flop with I Lombardi. It was an pitiful performance. Borghese has no voice at all, Collini and Mirate have one between the two of them. The latter has a dreadful technique. The choruses were poor (my translation)]. For similar assessments, see also Chorley, i:300 and ii:23, 112; Cox, ii:193; Gruneisen, The Opera and the Press, 10-11.

[140]9 May, 13 June 1848, Gye Diaries.

[141]ibid.

[142]1, 3 and 7 June 1854, ibid.

[143]Ringel, 170-74 and Tables 9 and 10.

[144]18 and 20 May, 20 July 1848, 21 and 23 Aug 1849, 2 May, 27 Aug 1850, 1 June, 1 Sept 1852, 1 May, 16 Aug 1853, 7 Aug 1854, Gye Diaries.

[145]Dideriksen and Ringel, 25-26; Ringel, 185-87.

[146]2 March 1866, Gye Diaries; see also Dideriksen and Ringel, 26.

[147]Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London, i:124-125; John Ebers, Seven Years of the King's Theatre (London: William Harrison Ainsworth, 1828) 58, 142, 196, 279, 310, 312; see chapter three, p.163. Negotiations between singers, impresarios and agents were also commonly conducted through correspondence (John Rosselli, Singers of Italian Opera: The history of a profession (Cambridge: CUP, 1992) 156.

[148]From 1853 onwards, Harris regularly accompanied Gye to Paris and was occasionally sent abroad to negotiate contracts (see for example, 12 Feb, 1 March 1853, 3 March, 22 April, 12 Dec 1854, Gye Diaries; 14 March 1855, Gye Travel Diary). As Gye became increasingly preoccupied with the Knox lawsuit during the early 1860s, he entrusted Harris more regularly with such missions (Ringel, 122-23).

[149]9 March 1854, Gye Diaries. Physical drawbacks were not always outweighed by vocal beauty, as Gye's later harsh appraisal and caricature of the soprano Angela Peralta illustrate (12 Jan 1875, Gye Diaries; Dideriksen and Ringel, 26-27).

[150]5 Jan 1851, Gye Travel Diary.

[151]30 March 1869, Gye Diaries; Dideriksen and Ringel, 23. Evidence suggests that these rights were granted only to senior artists, but a paucity of original contracts makes it impossible confirm this assessment (26 Oct, 2 Dec 1850, Gye Diaries). A transcription of two draft contracts for Mario, dated 1861, can be found in Ringel, Appendix D (see also Dideriksen and Ringel, 27). Singers were able to reject parts they had originally agreed to perform. Ronconi, for example, refused to sing in either La favorite or Maria di Rohan in 1850, while Viardot struck the part of Leonora (Fidelio) out of her contract in 1851 (21 and 22 May 1850, 14 April, 17 May 1851, Gye Diaries; see also p.198).

[152]Gye relied principally on other artists for information on Lumley's company and very rarely visited the rival theatre himself. Only one visit to Her Majesty's and another to the Théâtre Italien, then also under Lumley's management, are recorded in Gye's diaries; the latter was made specifically to hear a particular singer whom Gye considered engaging for the Royal Italian Opera (10 Aug 1847, Gye Diaries; 31 Dec 1850, Gye Travel Diary). Gye reported one visit by Lumley to the Royal Italian Opera (31 Aug 1852, Gye Diaries).

[153]9 Feb, 2 March 1852, ibid.

[154]3 Oct 1851, Gye Travel Diary.

[155]4 and 5 Jan 1851, ibid.; see p.221. Reports that Gye had first heard Wagner in 1845 in Dresden are not confirmed by his diaries (The Times, 22 Feb 1854).

[156]7 Jan, 25 to 27 Sept 1851, Gye Travel Diary.

[157]An English translation of the original French contract between Lumley and Wagner was provided as part of the Complaint issued by Lumley against Gye, Johanna and Albert Wagner; the agreement was made on 9 November 1851 (1852.L.No.35/C14/1345, PRO).

[158]5 April 1852, Gye Diaries. As early as January Gye had suggested that 'if Lumley played any tricks with her so that she could honorably get out of her engagement with him this year I would give her such an engagement for 1853 & 4 as would repay her for the money she might lose this year' (22 Jan 1852, ibid.).

[159]Gye paid Wagner an advance of £1,000 on her salary (5 April 1852, ibid; 8 April 1852, Coutts ledger). In an unprecedented move Gye ensured Wagner's safe arrival at the Royal Italian Opera by escorting her personally from Cologne, thwarting Lumley's identical intentions literally by minutes (17 April 1852, ibid.); see also Dideriksen and Ringel, 25.

[160]23 April 1852, C33/1007, fol.637.760, PRO.

[161]10 and 26 May, 19 June 1852, Gye Diaries. A compromise suggested by Gye for Wagner to make a series of appearances at both opera houses was refused by Lumley (7 May, 27 May to 8 June 1852, ibid). The ongoing legal proceedings prevented Wagner from entering into an engagement with Gye for the 1853 to 1855 seasons (17 June 1852, ibid.; 17 Oct 1854 Gye Travel Diary); she eventually made her first appearance in London at Her Majesty's in 1856.

[162]The Times, 2 Sept 1853 and 10 Feb 1854. The damages sought were later given as £20,000 (Reminiscences of the Opera, 333).

[163]22 Feb 1854, Gye Diaries; see also The Times, 23 Feb 1854. Lumley's application for a new trial to be opened was dismissed by the courts (ibid., 22 April, 6 June 1854). In 1852, a number of booksellers had demanded a reduction in their subscriptions, as they had 'left Lumley's & subscribed to R.I.O. not only on the strength that Wagner wd. sing at R.I.O. but that she would not sing at Lumley's' (7, 11 and 12 May 1852,

Gye Diaries). The Coutts ledger of 1854 records payments to Gye's lawyer George Tamplin alone of £2,212 in total.

Part Three

Operas for Covent Garden

The conventions of producing opera in 19th-century London in general and at Covent Garden in particular were shaped by a multitude of artistic and social concerns. The public's taste, a determinant not always easy to define, was one of the guiding principles both for composers and librettists creating new works for the playhouse, as well as those artists adapting and arranging foreign works for London's English and Italian stage. In new English operas, composers and authors sought to assimilate many of the structural and topical characteristics of contemporary foreign operas while retaining the melodic and harmonic simplicity to which their audience had become accustomed. Adaptations of foreign operas were apparently distinguished by a similar desire to fuse the familiar with the new and fashionable. The most recent foreign operas were therefore frequently modified to resemble more closely the patterns found in operas which formed the established repertory: English opera at the playhouse and Italian opera at the opera house. Moreover, the shape and content adopted for operas were dependant on the formation of the company assembled at either institution. Arranging the music for the forces available and incorporating singers' requests was as important in London's theatres as in Continental opera houses.

A full appraisal of these diverse issues is beyond the scope of this study. Chapter five will therefore focus on an assessment of the defining properties of contemporary English opera, while chapter six will examine the working procedures as well as the principal artistic concerns involved in adapting foreign operas. Part three will thereby attempt to establish the aesthetic and artistic standards to which composers and authors working at Covent Garden aspired.

Chapter Five

English Operas for the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden

The examination of the playhouse repertory and artistic policies inevitably provokes questions as to why theatre and opera managers presented so much foreign opera in London and why so many promoted it over English opera. A cursory assessment of early to mid-19th century English opera might suggest that English composers were simply not good enough. The apparently inadequate encouragement of English musical talent and the resulting paucity of quality works were indeed among the issues raised during the contemporary debate over native theatrical and literary talent.[1] Yet the supposition that the mediocrity of 19th-century English operas may have forced managers to turn to foreign operas is largely invalidated by the century old tradition of staging foreign opera in London and the contemporary popularity of English opera.

Musicologists have at best expressed indifference towards most English opera composers and librettists of the 1820s to 1840s and have paid tribute principally to their skill and productivity. "Inept", "banal" and "uninspired" are the attributes far more commonly associated with their works.[2] It is not the purpose of this chapter to attempt a re-appraisal of 19th-century English opera, for in my investigations I have found little to disagree with these established opinions. Many operatic works staged at Covent Garden during the 1830s were undoubtedly insipid, both in their musical construction and content. Whatever their merit, however, these operas require a more detailed examination than they have hitherto received, since they constituted an important part of London's musical and theatrical culture in general and of the playhouse repertory at Covent Garden in particular.[3]

Amidst much mediocrity, Michael Balfe emerges as the only composer of distinction. Yet none of his operas composed during the mid-1830s was performed at Covent Garden, while his later works, such as The Bohemian Girl (1843) and The Bondman (1846) were staged only during Bunn's winter season at the Royal Italian Opera in 1848.[4] Since it is not the aim of this study to present an exhaustive account of 19th-century English opera, but rather to analyse English operas staged at Covent Garden, Balfe's works will be considered mainly in this context.[5]

A brief survey of contemporary views on English opera, in particular its dramatic and musical aims, will form the starting point of this analysis. A discussion of the topics and storylines of English operas composed for and performed at Covent Garden between circa 1820 and 1845 will precede a more detailed examination of the musical and dramatic structure of three operas: Bishop's Home, Sweet Home (1829), one of his last original operas written for Covent Garden, and two of the most successful English operas to be staged at Covent Garden during this period, Paul Clifford (1835) by Rodwell and Amilie (1837) by Rooke. The choice of operas for this analysis has been determined principally by their significance within the repertory of Covent Garden and the availability of sources. Since many of the works performed at the playhouse during the 1830s were revivals of operas which had received their first production during the 1820s, the period of this particular investigation has been extended backwards by ten years.

1) English Opera: Drama with Songs?

Despite an apparent lack of outstanding native talent, London was home to a notable number of opera composers and librettists throughout the 1820s to 1840s. Alongside such well known figures as Bishop and Balfe, a host of other lesser composers worked for London's theatres. Employed either as house-composers or for specific productions, many composers during the 1820s to the early 1830s were primarily occupied with adapting existing works and supplying incidental instrumental and vocal music for plays, spectacles and other dramatic entertainments; creating new operas was only one of their many responsibilities.[6] Correspondingly, many librettists were writing for a variety of dramatic genres. Authors were not normally engaged to a specific theatre and instead worked with a range of composers on individual works.[7] Regular partnerships between librettists and composers were rare during the 1820s, as composers such as Bishop and Cooke worked with a large number of authors. During the 1830s and 1840s, however, a number of closer working relationships were formed, most notably between Fitzball and Rodwell at Covent Garden in 1835/36, John Thomas Haines and Rooke between 1837 and 1839, and Bunn and Balfe from 1836 through to the early 1850s. Paradoxically, the versatility of these artists respecting their abilities to work in a multitude of theatrical lines has been the source of much criticism, as contempt for many of the genres employed has instilled equal disdain for their creators. The surge in the number of original English operas performed at Covent Garden, Drury Lane and the Lyceum from circa 1835 onwards has done little to change modern appraisal of English opera as a whole. The musical and literary mediocrity of so many of these works and the apparently inferior merit of "operas with spoken dialogue" have instead only served to reinforce

the common dictum that 19th-century England was incapable of nurturing exceptional opera composers or librettists.

Contemporary composers and librettists as well as modern scholars have often perceived the subordination of music to spoken dialogue and the inclusion of both singers and actors within one theatrical genre as the two most significant shortcomings of 19th-century English opera.[8] In two well-known letters to his librettist James Robinson Planché concerning Oberon, Carl Maria von Weber referred to English opera as 'Drama with songs' and voiced his concern over the structure of the work he had been commissioned to write for Covent Garden:

> The cut of the whole is very foreign to all my ideas and maxims. The intermixing of so many principal actors, who do not sing, the omission of the music in the most important moments - all these things deprive our Oberon the title of an Opera...[9]

Weber's complaints are not surprising, given that of the 23 roles in Oberon, just nine were to include any singing and only five of these were intended as major parts for singers. Such a distribution would necessarily be perceived as an imbalance by a composer used to dealing with companies dominated by singers. Furthermore, scenes which Weber considered an integral part of the musical drama were simply conveyed in spoken dialogue. This arrangement seemed inevitably to lead to a separation of dramatic development and music, something which must have been deeply unsatisfying to the composer of Der Freischütz.

Weber was not alone in voicing his frustration over the compositional and dramatic construction of English opera. Bishop, himself not infrequently accused of composing music inappropriate to its dramatic context, later expressed his dissatisfaction with the genre which seemed to allow nothing but 'a mere succession of ballads and other songs'.[10] Planché reiterated this critique in his defence of the libretto to Oberon and blamed an 'unmusical public' for having been

forced to write 'a melodrama with songs, instead of an opera'.

> Ballads, duets, choruses, and glees, provided they occupied no more than the fewest number of minutes possible, were all that the playgoing public of that day would endure. A dramatic situation in music was "caviare to the general", and inevitably received with cries of "Cut it short!" from the gallery and obstinate coughing or other significant signs of impatience from the pit.[11]

Audience preferences and the performance traditions of the playhouses were thus perceived to impose constraints on composers and librettists of English opera that prevented the creation of dramatically coherent words and music.[12] In these evaluations Weber, Bishop and Planché not only challenged perceived notions of what constituted opera, but also implicitly proclaimed their ideals of an operatic drama in which music could take on a distinct dramatic function and was not subordinate to the spoken dialogue. Weber's unfamiliarity with English opera and the retrospection of Bishop's and Planché's assessments should, however, caution against supposing a general discontentment with the established genre of English opera.

A probably more typical contemporary view is provided by the librettist William Dimond. In his 'confession of Operatic Faith' published in 1824, Dimond set out the basic elements of which English opera should be comprised.

> In its Plot, it may be either serious or sprightly, or it may combine both qualities, ad libitum, with just a sufficient interest to excite attention and to banish ennui during the necessary spaces between song and song, but never so vividly to stimulate the feelings of an Audience, as to make the recurrence of Music be felt as an impertinent interruption.... The Dialogue...should unfold whatever fable there may be, intelligibly, and come to the point with as much conciseness as possible - Above all, the MUSICAL SITUATIONS ought to spring with spontaneity out of the very necessities of the Scene; never betraying themselves to be labored[sic] introductions for the mere purpose of exhibiting vocal talent, but always to appear... [as] integral portions and indispensable continuations of the Story.[13]

As the following discussion of English operas will demonstrate, Dimond here defined many of the elements so characteristic of the genre from

the 1820s to the early 1830s. He advanced the integration of music into the drama, but, unlike Weber and later Bishop and Planché, nevertheless considered it subservient to the dramatic unfolding of the work. As in many early 19th-century opéras comiques, the narrative was to be confined to the spoken dialogue, while the musical numbers were to provide appropriate elaborations on specific dramatic situations.[14] Music was thus not to develop but to embellish the drama. The anonymous author of the preface to the 1826 edition of The Lord of the Manor expressed a similarly insistent view in his critique of 'Modern dramatists':

> The music is confined to the expression of passion, instead of to the exercise of it; in the dialogue consists the action; and in the music, the sentiment of the piece, which, though very skilfully rendered independent of each other, are nevertheless so happily interwoven, as to act in perfect concert, forming an agreeable and intellectual entertainment. Modern dramatists, however, have pursued a contrary plan: their dialogue...is merely a peg to hang their songs upon; while the songs themselves are only intended as vehicles for the music; so that the composer takes the lead of the author...[15]

While Dimond and his fellow critics attempted to limit the role of music in opera, the importance attached to it by audiences can be guessed from Dimond's warning of excessive virtuoso vocal displays which might detract from the dramatic content of the work, and his reference to the spoken dialogue as a means of preventing boredom 'during the necessary spaces between song and song'. Dimond thereby appeared to reinforce the view of opera as a series of songs interrupted by spoken dialogue, yet his subsequent insistence on the subordination of music to dramatic coherence might be read as an attempt to restore the balance between the two elements - a design which presumably also reflected Dimond's own ambitions as a librettist rather than composer.

Under the influence of French opera, and in particular the works of Auber and Scribe, changes which emphasised the dramatic function of

the music were gradually introduced to English opera during the 1830s. The principle of dialogue operas was nevertheless rarely challenged. None of the operas composed for Covent Garden during the 1820s to 1840s was all-sung, while the only two such works performed at Drury Lane were Balfe's Catherine Grey (1837) and The Daughter of St.Mark (1844).[16] Although seldom voiced explicitly, a certain frustration over this almost exclusive reliance of the genre of dialogue opera can occasionally be gleaned amongst modern scholars.

> The list of Bishop's dramatic works suggests an almost incredible productivity..., but only one of his works, Aladdin, is anything like a full-length opera. Even this is not through-composed...[17]

Yet composers such as Bishop were writing within the tradition of 17th- and 18th-century English opera, in which operas with spoken dialogue had been favoured over all-sung opera.[18] The search for an apparently "higher" genre of through-composed opera within a culture that clearly favoured a different performance tradition consequently complicates an understanding of the musical and dramatic conventions. A more appropriate evaluation of the seemingly "lower" genre of dialogue opera might be gained from an analysis of the works themselves.

2) Topics and Storylines of English Operas, circa 1820 to 1845

English librettists active in London during the first half of the 19th century have repeatedly been criticised for the poor literary quality of their works.[19] Many libretti set to music between circa 1820 and 1845 abound in sentimental language and insipid situations, and might well be classed as containing 'lyrics of unexampled banality'.[20] In this, English libretti can, however, hardly be said to differ from numerous contemporary works written in Italian, French or German. Moreover, as has been frequently argued, the inferior literary merits of a libretto do

not necessarily impede its qualities as an appropriate text for an opera.[21] Far more important to an assessment of libretti are the dramatic construction and the choice and treatment of the subject. An evaluation of these properties might reveal more usefully the dramatic force and suitability of the English libretti for musical setting.

Many of the libretti written during the 1820s to mid-1840s had as their source a foreign ballet, play or opera. The relationship between the original foreign work and the English libretto could range from straightforward adaptations for the operatic stage, such as Planché's reworking of William Sotheby's translation of Christoph Martin Wieland's Romantisches Heldengedicht, Oberon, or Fitzball's adaptation of the French play Don César de Bazan as Maritana (1845), to a more liberal emulation of the plot, as in Quasimodo (1836, Fitzball) which took as its inspiration the play Preciosa by Pius Alexander Wolff.[22] Where these connections were publicly acknowledged, and this was not regularly the case, they seem designed not merely to inform, but also to enhance the status of the libretto.

> Few subjects become so popular, musically adapted to the stage, as those with which the Public are already familiar... And under this impression I have selected from the French, that excellent drama by Dumanois and Dennery, called "Don Caesar de Bazan," not doubting that a work, combining such highly Dramatic interest, will obtain additional importance from the gifted compositions of the eminent native musician [W.Wallace] it is the medium of first introducing to an English audience.[23]

No clear preference for any particular foreign authors can be discerned before the 1840s, as Italian, French and German works appear to have been equally utilised. Indeed, Eric Walter White's statement, that many English libretti first set to music in the mid- to late 1830s were 'adaptations of French models, particularly of librettos or scenarios by Vernoy de Saint-Georges' is imprecise.[24] Certainly Bunn based all of his libretti written for Balfe in the 1840s on works by Saint-Georges.

Yet a similarly distinct bias towards French writers cannot be discerned during the 1830s, even though clear structural and thematic affinities with opéra comique do exist.

While foreign works provided the basis for many English libretti, the influence exerted by English authors was far less significant. As White pointed out, two of the most important literary inspirations for Italian, French and German opera composers and librettists, namely the works of Sir Walter Scott and Lord Byron, rarely found their way into English opera.[25] In contrast to the numerous dramatic entertainments, few musical pieces were derived from these authors, possibly because the audience's familiarity with these works made operatic adaptations seem inappropriate.[26] The only two prominent musical works based on Scott's Waverley novels were Guy Mannering (1816, D.Terry) and Rob Roy Macgregor (1818, I.Pocock), both of which might arguably be classed as musical dramas rather than operas with spoken dialogue. Byron appears to have been similarly avoided by English opera composers and librettists, his works were arranged for dramatic representations such as spectacles and plays, rather than operas.[27]

One of the most conspicuous correlations between Italian, French and German libretti and their English counterparts is the emphasis on the exotic. This found its expression principally in the use of foreign locations and characters, and supernatural devices. Magic potions, implements and spells, employed for example in great abundance in Oberon and The Enchantress (1845, Bunn), provided much scope for ingenious stage props and often lent plausibility to unusual situations. By placing the story in exotic countries, the librettist could furthermore open up endless opportunities for the display of lavish costumes and scenery, as well as the introduction of much illustrative music. In some

cases, as in Oberon, however, these inventions became almost self-fulfilling as dramatic continuity was sacrificed to visual spectacle - a development much deplored by the opponents of the patent theatres.[28] Bunn, by contrast, used a similar array of locations and supernatural devices in The Enchantress, although the concentration on a more limited number of roles which link the various episodes makes this a dramatically more coherent libretto.

Oriental and Eastern settings were especially popular; thus The Slave (1816, Morton) was placed in Surinam and The Barbers of Bassorah (1837, Morton) in Turkey, while Oberon used a record number of five locations which included Baghdad and Tunis, in addition to numerous scene changes. The exotic could also be evoked in places much closer to home. Mountain ranges in countries such as Switzerland, Italy and Austria were amongst the most favoured locations and were used, for example, in Home Sweet Home (1829, Somerset), Amilie (1837, Haines), The Enchantress and The Bohemian Girl (1843, Bunn). Although such backdrops were principally employed to heighten the dramatic and visual interest of the plot, some locations seem to have been used to evoke more specific allusions. As in operas such as La sonnambula (1831), Linda di Chamounix (1842) and later Luisa Miller (1849), nature and mountain settings were regularly linked to images of female purity and chastity; this traditional metaphor is employed in Home Sweet Home, Amilie, The Enchantress and The Bohemian Girl.[29]

The depiction of foreign cultures also served to juxtapose native and familiar characters with the unknown and singular. Individuals or groups were often marked out through their peculiar origins. Foremost amongst these were gypsies; their seemingly extrajudicial existence at the fringe of society, as well as their colourful dress, customs and music

made them an ideal exponent of the exotic. Though gypsies were occasionally introduced in works of the 1820s to provide visual interest, their dramatic potential was exploited more fully in works written after circa 1835. In operas such as The Bohemian Girl, in which gypsies provide refuge for the unjustly accused hero, or Quasimodo, in which they collude with the authorities, their actions were integral to the drama's development and resolution. Highwaymen and pirates could in some instances take on a similar function, as for example in Paul Clifford (1835, Fitzball) and The Enchantress. Individual outsiders, such as the hunchback and madwoman in Quasimodo or the gypsy queen in The Bohemian Girl, were also frequently essential to the unfolding of the narrative. A variation on this particular theme was the creation of a plot centred on the topic of slavery, which added an apparently welcome moral dimension to the opera. On the subject matter of The Slave, in which the black hero sacrifices his recently gained freedom to unite his beloved heroine with her betrothed, the preface to the 1829 edition notes:

> This drama pleads the cause of the slave; and, as such, it is entitled to more than common consideration. It is delightful when our amusements are thus rendered conducive to humanity....[30]

Even more unusual is The Bondman, in which a mulatto and former slave not only proves to be of noble descent but also gains the hand of a white genteel woman. A series of comic subplots is introduced to relieve the seriousness of both these libretti, though curiously this is achieved mainly through contrasting the honourable actions of the slave with the deviousness and stupidity of many of the white male, and in the case of The Slave, English protagonists.

While the majority of English operas attempted to enhance the dramatic interest by their novel settings and characters, a few

consciously drew on familiar and distinctly English traits and locations. Most prominently, the highly successful Paul Clifford included a scene outside the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden itself, as well as several sites in the English countryside, and its characters were given names typically associated with English comedy and farce. Furthermore, the opera closed on a grand patriotic ensemble, 'Farewell, dear old England!', and the hoisting of the Union Jack. Others, such as the Slave, derived much of their humour from placing typically English individuals in unfamiliar surroundings, thereby contrasting native and foreign cultures.

Although librettists strove for the unusual in their choice of topics and settings, storylines were generally conventional and often unimaginative. Love and its complexities provided the outline of most plots which were invariably ended happily. There seemed to be an endless stream of minor variations on the stereotype stories of the innocent maiden rescued by the faithful hero from some adverse fate, or the young, penniless man who makes his fortune after arduous adventures and marries the girl he loves. The choice of topic or location could transform such predictable and potentially insipid plots by providing the motivation for the introduction of unusual characters as well as the use of elaborate stage machinery, costumes and dance; clearly the visual attractions of operas such as Oberon, Quasimodo and The Barbers of Bassora did much to enhance their audience appeal. As the author to the preface of Pocock's melodrama The Miller and His Men laconically remarked:

> A piece with an explosion is sure to go off well; and many an author can bear grateful testimony that, when deserted by genius, he has been saved by gunpowder....[31]

Another common dramatic device, employed to heighten the dramatic

interest, was the use of musical pieces staged for the entertainment of the characters of the opera; masked balls, ballads and dances were used to this effect in Quasimodo, The Bohemian Girl, Maritana and The Enchantress. Highly unusual, and sharply criticised by some for the consequent lengthening of the presentation as a whole, was the inclusion of a play within the opera Clari; or, The Maid of Milan (1823, Payne); introduced as a mirror of the opera's protagonists, the unfolding of the drama is here foreshadowed before triggering an impassioned response from the heroine of the opera.[32]

In the conventionalism of the plots, English libretti were of course no different to many of those written for French, Italian or German operas. Neither was the exclusive reliance on happy endings a peculiarly English trait, but rather one which found its parallel in opéras comiques and the late 18th- to early 19th-century "rescue operas".[33] Serious plots were conceived, but tragedies appear to have been virtually unheard of on the 19th-century English operatic stage. Last minute rescues, pardons and revelations of high birth invariably resolved even the darkest of plots. Of this, Amilie is a highly typical specimen: the heroine, determined to escape the persistent and increasingly violent attentions of a villain by entering a convent, is saved only by the late arrival of her long-lost lover. A more surprising example is Clari; here the abduction of Clari by the Duke ends not in retribution for this crime, but in his marriage to the maiden.[34] In the construction of such storylines, 19th-century English authors took their cue as much from the near-contemporary French models, as from the conventions established in English opera from circa 1760 onwards, when even as violent an opera as Thomas Arne's Artaxerxes failed to end in tragedy.[35] Librettists not only sought to create optimistic conclusions,

but also eased the tensions of sombre storylines through the insertion of comic subplots which, following an established operatic tradition, usually involved the servants of the principal protagonists. The Slave, Clari, Paul Clifford, The Bondman and Maritana all rely in varying degrees on this dramatic device to balance the austerity of the main plot.[36] The apparent need for positive resolution of operas was probably derived in principle from opéras comiques, in which plots did not necessarily have to be "comic", but had to be concluded happily.[37] It appears, however, also to have been linked to the status of "entertainment" assigned to the genre itself. As Dimond affirmed in his 'confession', the principal aim of opera was to please, not, one might infer, to dishearten or upset the audience.

> In its construction, it [the libretto to Native Land] afforded amusement to certain idle hours, which otherwise might have hung wearily upon my hands; whilst in representation, I have reason to believe, it has entertained the Public: at least, if the hearty laughter and unanimous plaudits of very crowded Audiences, may be accepted as tests of popular satisfaction. What further laudatory exordium can a Drama of this description either require or receive?[38]

The contentment experienced by audiences from the happy conclusion of dramatic works is also confirmed by another author.

> We have always thought that poetical justice is a great charm. In life we desire to see the virtuous rewarded, and the bad punished; to see right overcome might. We mourn when oppression is triumphant; and vice and inhumanity take the lion's share (as they generally do) of the good things of this world. Guy Mannering leaves us fully satisfied on these points...[39]

Thus the importance attached to such positive resolutions helps explain the construction of some libretti which might otherwise have been deemed unacceptable to contemporary audiences. The portrayal of a lecherous archdeacon in Quasimodo was permissible only because of his eventual death through the hands of the hapless cripple, while the salvation of the vanquished maiden in Clari could only come through the

restoration of her honour in marriage to the Duke.

3) The Dramatic and Musical Composition of English Operas, circa 1820 to 1845

Most of the English operas first staged at Covent Garden between 1809 and circa 1820 were based on uncomplicated dramatic patterns derived from late 18th-century English operas. Solo numbers dominated, while large-scale ensembles were placed mainly in the opening scene and the finales to each act. Simple musical forms and a elementary harmonic language reflected the function of the music, which was not to assist in the development of the plot, but rather to describe the emotional state of the protagonists.[40] The structural and tonal simplicity of English operas changed little during the 1820s, although the role of music as a dramatic device seems to have been more consciously employed. The increased influx of French opera during the 1830s, however, had a profound influence on the formal construction of English opera. Ensembles and arias became more extended and were increasingly used to propel the action forward. Dramatic highpoints were frequently set either partly or entirely to music and thus prompted the creation of more complex musical forms.

Despite the reliance on foreign works in terms of dramatic and musical structure, many English operas retained the plainness of their musical language. Seemingly intricate forms frequently contained little of the musical and dramatic intensity one might find in the operas of Boieldieu, Auber or Meyerbeer. English composers instead focused on pleasing melodies and generally shunned harmonic complexities to the point of blandness. Melodic beauty seemed to emphasise the status of opera as entertainment, a notion reflected in the audiences' - and

consequently publishers' - delight in memorable and singable ballads and songs. Furthermore, the use of a cast which comprised both singers and actors might also have induced such an insistence on easy comprehension. Nevertheless, one cannot help but notice the dire absence of any outstanding musical talent. With the exception of Balfe, none of the English composers working in London during the 1830s was apparently able to embrace or expand on the advances in musical style made by their Continental counterparts.

The casts employed for English operas of the first half of the 19th century usually numbered between 15 to 20 actors and singers, in addition to the chorus and supernumaries. English operas thus required significantly more artists for individual parts than most contemporary Italian or French operas. The list of Scribe's opéras comiques compiled by Karen Pendle shows that his works created between 1813 and 1845 were generally conceived for casts of between six and ten artists.[41] Only three opéras comiques, Le paradis de Mahomet (11), Les deux nuits (16) and Le domino noir (14), comprised larger casts comparable to those required for contemporary grands opéras.[42] The relative extravagance of English operas may have been linked to the company structure of the patent theatres which allowed the regular use of actors and supernumaries from the other theatrical departments. The personnel costs were nevertheless substantial and at times appear to have prompted managers to insist on smaller scale works. In March 1829, halfway through Kemble's financially most troubled season, the newly commissioned Home Sweet Home comprised a cast of only eleven; The Barbers of Bassora (10) and Amilie (13), both produced during Macready's cautious first few months at Covent Garden, also required more modest numbers of artists; and the cast of The Bohemian Girl, first

performed at Drury Lane in 1843, the year of the Theatre Regulation Act, was limited to eleven. Although these operas did not signal a general trend towards smaller casts, the lavishness occasionally noted during the early 1820s in works such as Rob Roy Macgregor (29) and Oberon (23) was extremely rare during the 1830s and 1840s.

The balance between the number of singers and actors in English operas varied little throughout the 1820s to 1840s. At least half to two-thirds of all parts included some music, though no more than five or six were specifically assigned to singers or, less frequently, to actors with notable singing abilities.[43] By comparison, a similar number of between four and seven principal singers were cast in opéras comiques, yet these works appear to have included only a very small number of purely spoken parts.[44] The participation of most of the minor characters in the musical numbers of English operas was usually limited to large-scale ensembles such as finales; these parts were accordingly allotted to actors.[45] The principal roles on the other hand were generally conceived as singing parts, though a lack of capable singers appears occasionally to have necessitated a change in this pattern.[46] Just two of the four major male characters in Quasimodo were devised for singers, possibly because Osbaldiston's company included only two principal male singers; the remaining two parts were played by actors and did not include any music. Clari and Home Sweet Home were similarly affected by the shortage of competent male singers in 1823 and 1829 respectively and the principal male role in both operas was therefore not allocated any music.[47] Parts which were of only secondary importance to the development of the plot, in particular those involved in comic subplots, were, however, frequently assigned to singers. These were in fact at times more fully developed in musical terms than some of the principal

characters. In Clari, for example, the comic part of the valet Jocoso was expanded into a major singing role in favour of the Duke as the male lead and thereby served to relieve the severity of the storyline.[48]

Writing to Bishop on the construction of the libretto to Clari in 1823, John Howard Payne emphasised the 'variety' he had sought in the conception of the musical numbers.[49] Yet Payne's concern was apparently not directed towards the diversity of musical forms he could offer Bishop, as most solo numbers in Clari were stanzaic and the ensembles were based on similarly elementary patterns. Instead, his interest probably lay with the variety of musical sentiments which the careful invention and ordering of songs and ensembles would enable Bishop to create.[50] Here Payne indeed exhibited considerable skill as he devised a plot with numerous distinct layers that could be exploited through varying musical colours - the play inserted for the entertainment of the court, the comic subplot, wedding celebrations in Clari's village and the dismal predicament of the maid herself.

The emphasis on variety of sentiment over that of musical form was characteristic of many English operas composed throughout the 1820s and well into the 1830s. Bishop's Home, Sweet Home of 1829, a highly conservative work which harkened back to the simplicity of his earlier operas such as Clari and The Slave, was it seems fashioned almost exclusively on this principle.[51] Home Sweet Home is an unassuming tale of a soldier, Henry, who returns home with the intention of breaking with his boyhood love Maria. Tricked by Maria into believing her a sophisticated beauty rather than the plain village girl he had expected, Henry is duly punished for his shameful designs and eventually reunited with Maria. Although Henry's part was devised for an actor and was therefore excluded from all musical numbers, a great

diversity of musical expressions was achieved through the creation of several subplots and the colourful figure of Maria. Her dual personality allowed her to reflect sophistication, innocence, cunningness and sincerity of affection. The various subplots introduced two comic figures as well as a homesick and lovelorn deserter (Edward), all of which were extensively employed in the musical numbers. While the musical forms chosen by Bishop were conventional and repetitive, the intricacies of the plot enabled him to compose songs and ensembles of widely varying character. Maria's bold and exultant song "Come, my gallant soldier, come" (I,ii) was followed almost immediately by her more reflective, melancholy song "Ah! no, first love is but a name" (I,iii); the duet of II,i combines the entry of the army to a Ranz des vaches with Edward's reflections on his hapless fortune; and the minor characters of Natz and Lisette joined in the lively comic duet of II,iii.

The setting of the opera in Switzerland and the military theme allowed Bishop to add further layers of colour to the music. Alpine and military references abound in the orchestration, as well as in the use of choruses and the larger ensembles. The chorus, though apparently made use of more frequently than in most of Bishop's earlier operas, fulfils no particular dramatic function beyond that of providing a picturesque backdrop for the soloists. The changes in the use of the chorus which were occurring in opéra comique and more particularly in grand opéra, had clearly not yet filtered through to contemporary English operas. Cast varyingly as Swiss villagers, Savoyard girls, and soldiers, the chorus in Home Sweet Home accompanied the principal singers both on and off stage. There were no numbers for the chorus alone, though other contemporary English works, such as Clari and Rob Roy Macgregor, did occasionally contain such pieces.[52]

Bishop employed a wide range of instruments traditionally associated with military and alpine topics. Trombones, trumpets, horns, side and bass drums, timpani, cymbals and a triangle featured extensively throughout, to which were added, somewhat more unusually, a keyed bugle and a glass harmonica. The harmonica was used merely to reinforce the mountain setting in the trio of I,i, the orchestral introduction to the Mayday celebrations of Act II and the chorus for Maria and the Savoyard girls of II,iii. The keyed bugle, on the other hand, commonly identified with military and hunting themes, was employed not only for the entry of the soldiers at the beginning of the second act, but also in the overture, the finale to act I and Maria's "Come, my gallant soldier, come" (I,ii) headed Allegretto marziale. In addition, Bishop introduced several brief solos for the keyed bugle which assumed a distinct dramatic function beyond the provision of local colour; the Ranz des vaches, sounded on the keyed bugle at the end of the glee in II,i and during the following duet, prompts Edward to reveal himself as a deserter to his beloved.

These variations of character and colour may not seem especially imaginative, yet they appear to have constituted some of the principal attractions of English operas of this period. By contrast, formal variety appears to have been of little concern to Bishop. Although he occasionally employed music for a dramatic purpose, he never aspired to such complex dramatic patterns as could be found in contemporary French works. This apparently old-fashioned approach was hardly due to Bishop's ignorance of the more progressive foreign operas; Boieldieu's La dame blanche had already been performed in London in 1826 and Bishop himself was regularly involved in the adaptation of French operas.[53] Instead, the formal simplicity of Bishop's operas was

almost certainly motivated by his keen awareness of his audience's likes and dislikes. Their apparent aversion to dramatic situations set to music, later criticised so vehemently by Planché, appears to have demanded a continuation of facile musical forms long after Continental audiences had begun to listen to far more intricate structures.[54] Table 3. shows the vocal numbers of Home Sweet Home.[55]

Table 3.

I,i	Round	II,i	Glee/Semi-Chorus
	Trio/Chorus		Duet/Semi-Chorus
	Song	II,ii	spoken dialogue
I,ii	Song	II,iii	Solo/Chorus
I,iii	Song		Song
	Finale		Duet
			Finale

The positioning of the numbers followed that of most English operas composed during the 1820s: a chorus or ensemble opened the opera, further large-scale ensembles were confined to finales and the opening of the second act. Smaller ensembles and solos dominated the main body of the work. All songs were strophic settings of two stanzas; minor variations in orchestration and ornamentation were usually introduced in the second stanza. The ensembles were generally based on equally uncomplicated formal designs, to which the following might give some guidance. The opening round was devised as a three-part canon on three stanzas with a unison repeat of the refrain. The glee of II,i for two sopranos and an off-stage chorus was composed in binary form. The finale to Act I, which comprised two stanzas and a refrain, was structured as: refrain (trio for 2 sopranos and contralto), stanza (solo for tenor), refrain (duo for 2 sopranos), stanza (solo for contralto) and refrain (ensemble, chorus); a similar construction was chosen for the Act II finale. The only numbers to provide a slight modification of these simple patterns were the trio of I,i and the duet of II,i. The trio opened

with a section for two sopranos, followed by a solo for the principal tenor, and closed with the entry of the chorus. The duet incorporated an off-stage chorus which opened the number, a solo for the principal tenor, an off-stage clarinet solo, chorus repeat and a closing duet for soprano and tenor.

Recitative, commonly considered tiresome and unidiomatic in English opera and used only very sparingly in most operas of the period, was omitted altogether from Home Sweet Home.[56] Here, all songs and ensembles were introduced by spoken dialogue which carried the whole narrative. Moreover, extensive scenes set to music, such as action finales, were entirely excluded from Bishop's operas.[57] Yet the musical numbers were not devoid of dramatic function and represented rather more than 'a mere succession of ballads and other songs'.[58] By relating the emotional state of the protagonists, some of the songs in Home Sweet Home helped to prepare the subsequent unfolding of the drama. Thus Maria contemplates the lesson she intends to give her capricious lover in the song of I,ii; her song "I well remember that sweet hour" (II,iii) persuades Henry to renounce his love for another and return to her; and the duet of II,i, already discussed above, aids the development of the subplot involving Edward and his betrothed.

Another common dramatic use of music was the repetition of specific melodic motives, the purpose of which was to recall certain emotions and scenes, as in the II,i duet. While the application of this device is limited in Home Sweet Home, Bishop incorporated it more extensively in some of his other operas, especially Clari. There, the Song "Home sweet home" not only recalled past experiences and generated further developments, but also took on a more extended dramatic function. The repeated rendering of this song, either intact or

in excerpts, by various soloists and ensembles served to bind together musically the acts and scenes of the opera. The dramatic potential of this procedure, well-known from opéras comiques, was to be exploited still further in English operas written during the 1830s and 1840s.[59]

Just as Bishop was scarcely concerned with devising musical forms which might exploit a specific dramatic situation, he appears to have shown no interest in developing a complex musical language. Here Bishop was much more closely allied with his French counterparts, as his primary objective was to create engaging and memorable melodies.[60] Vocal lines were commonly based on triads and short, immediately comprehensible phrases. Their formal organisation relied on frequent repetition of melodic motives and straightforward bi- or tripartite patterns. These characteristics made Bishop's melodies eminently singable, if not particularly captivating pieces of music. Whereas Boieldieu and Auber, however, combined the quest for melodic beauty with increasingly intricate harmonic progressions, Bishop's frequently bland melodies were combined with a far more limited tonal scheme. Bishop appears to have adopted no overall tonal plan for his operas; given the alternation of spoken dialogue and music, this must have seemed of little importance. The tonal frame of his operas never veered beyond four accidentals and was usually confined to the key areas of B flat major to D major. Bishop furthermore showed little subtlety in his harmonic language. Modulations to the dominant or relative keys were used only sparingly and harmonic progressions beyond these elementary ones were extremely rare. Even as bold a scene as the play inserted into Clari produced few ambitious harmonic inventions. The seduction of the maiden, portrayed by actors to the accompaniment of extensive incidental music, is attended at its most dramatic moments by a

modulation to the relative minor and a series of dominant seventh chords which are resolved - and this is the strongest musical statement yet - into the minor home key.

Bishop's emphasis on melody over formal and harmonic diversity was probably in part linked to the vocal capabilities of his performers and, possibly more importantly, those of his audience, which Bishop and his contemporaries had to accommodate in their compositions.[61] All solo numbers, and usually at least some of the simpler ensembles, were published during the initial run of performances for amateur musicians and singers, who were keen to emulate the professional performers at home. Complex formal structures, exacting harmonic sequences and seemingly more difficult keys were undesirable for such a market. Where they had previously existed, such obstacles were removed in these publications. Few changes usually had to be made to Bishop's music, as it already fulfilled these criteria. Consequently, the published excerpts from Bishop's operas are generally faithful to the original work as it appears in his autograph scores.[62] This cannot be said of works by other composers writing for the patent theatres during the 1830s. The increasing complexity of their operas, both in musical style and form, appears more frequently to have been toned down for the amateur market. Transpositions to more easily decipherable and lower keys, simplifications of vocal lines and accompaniments, a reduction of parts in ensembles, and the transfer of chorus parts into the instrumental accompaniment became far more common. As primary sources these publications accordingly have to be treated with caution.[63]

The profound transformation of French opera, which had set in during the early 1820s, evolved into a dominant influence on English opera only as the works of Boieldieu, Auber and Meyerbeer became

increasingly popular with London audiences in the 1830s. From circa 1835, when English operas were more vigorously promoted at Covent Garden, significant alterations were introduced to new works. The comparatively artless works of Bishop and his colleagues were gradually replaced by a new, more imposing brand of operas. A greater variety of musical forms and a wider range of compositional techniques were now employed to increase the dramatic impact of operatic works. As audiences appeared to lose their aversion to dramatic musical situations, English composers cautiously began to utilise the dramatic potential of their music.

Rodwell's Paul Clifford, the outstanding operatic success of the 1835/36 season at Covent Garden, illustrates the restrained approach adopted by many English composers in their application of the new compositional tools. The plot focuses on the amiable Paul Clifford who has fallen into the deplorable company of highwaymen. During a bungled robbery Paul meets and falls in love with Lucy. Yet the hopelessness of this attachment is confirmed when Paul narrowly avoids arrest by Lucy's father and uncle. Their dilemma is resolved as Lucy's uncle recognises in Paul his long-lost son; Paul is assigned a respectable army post and is united with Lucy. The story itself is unsophisticated and its two protagonists border on the bland. The setting amongst highwaymen, however, considerably heightens the dramatic possibilities of the plot. Robberies, a prison escape, the intermingling of the bandits in an aristocratic ball and Paul's flight from the stately home of Lucy not only serve to emphasise the social disparity between the leading protagonists, but also provide the necessary dramatic and visual diversity. In addition, a semi-serious subplot introduces another set of young lovers, Jack and Terpsichore, whose comic courtship and tragic

end is unfolded in conspicuous contrast to the fortunes of the two principal characters. Jack, one of the bandits, dies soon after his secret marriage to Terpsichore, who, left destitute, seeks her father's forgiveness. The closing scene, already mentioned earlier, introduces one final theatrical coup: patriotic sentiment and military swagger are skilfully combined with the union of the lovers in a rousing finale.

In the construction of the storyline a few parallels with those devised by Scribe for his opéras comiques should briefly be noted here: the discovery of Paul's high birth, the futile attachment of Paul to a woman of higher station and the clandestine marriage; similar situations are listed by Pendle for a number of contemporary French works.[64] Other points of comparison include the insertion of distinct subplots and the lack of character development. Yet the structural discipline imposed by Scribe on his works, such as the delayed-action plot and the acute balance between the main and subplots, is missing in Fitzball's libretto. Paul Clifford opens with the "beginning" of the story, not with the 'culmination of events'.[65] A rambling first scene explains his family background and introduces the character of a landlady never to be seen or heard again throughout the entire opera; the actual story only begins to unfold in the second scene. The subplot concerning Terpsichore and Jack is also awkward, as moral propriety appears to have demanded a virtuous conclusion entirely out of keeping with the initial development of that particular narrative.

Despite some obvious structural weaknesses, the variety of dramatic situations and the simplicity of the plot made Fitzball's libretto well suited for musical setting. In the positioning of the vocal numbers, Rodwell in the main still followed the patterns adopted by Bishop and his contemporaries. All but two of the large ensembles and choruses were

placed at the opening and closing of each act, while songs and duets were confined to the inner scenes. Table 4. provides an outline of the musical numbers in Paul Clifford.[66]

Table 4.

I,i	Symphony	II,i	Air/Chorus	III,i	Chorus
	Chorus		Song/Chorus		Rondo
	Song	II,ii	Air	III,ii	Duet
	Air	II,iii	Song		Incidental
I,ii	Song	II,iv	Chorus		Music
I,iii	Chorus			III,iv	Chorus
	Concerted				Finale
	Piece				
I,iv	Song				
	Duet				
I,v	Incidental				
	Music				
	Concerted				
	Piece				

The chorus and concerted piece of I,iii, both of which are in fact extended ensembles with chorus, represent the only break in the conventional placement scheme. In the chorus Rodwell set the entire robbery and Paul's first encounter with Lucy to music, while Paul's seizure by the guards was depicted in the concerted piece which concluded this scene. These climactic ensembles could well have closed the first act. Indeed, the following comprehensive scene change in I,iv and the musical structure of that scene suggest that such an intermission might originally have been intended. The four-act opera thus created would, however, have been entirely outside the norm of mid-19th century English opera. Furthermore, the remaining two scenes, I,iv and I,v, would not have been sufficient in length to warrant a separate act. Yet as it stood, the first act was almost as long as the second and third acts put together. One might, therefore, conclude that the formation of Act I was not so much an innovative feature of Paul Clifford, but rather an awkward design born out of

practical considerations. Unfortunately, the music to I,iii does not appear to have survived and it is consequently impossible to determine whether and how the ambiguity of this scene was resolved by Rodwell.

Whatever the structural problems, the vocal numbers of I,iii denoted an innovative attempt to instill large-scale ensembles with a dramatic purpose. Rodwell still restricted the solos and duets to a purely descriptive function. Yet the dramatic relevance of the larger ensembles had clearly changed. In addition to the chorus and concerted piece of I,iii, two further key scenes were set to music, rather than conducted in spoken dialogue: the prison escape of I,v, and the closing part of the highway robbery in II,iv. The closing scene of Act I was set almost entirely to music, as the opening incidental music and the Concerted Piece were only briefly interrupted by spoken dialogue. The use of incidental music was not uncommon in English opera. Such scenes were probably derived most immediately from contemporary pantomimes and the immensely popular melodramas, though undoubtedly opéras comiques were also an important stimulus.[67]

The musical setting of the actual escape and pursuit of the prisoners was a concept entirely novel to English opera. Rodwell would almost certainly have been familiar with French works such as La dame blanche which included scenes of similar dramatic intensity. Although the music surviving for other numbers of this opera make one doubt whether Rodwell ever achieved or indeed aspired to equally forceful musical effects as Boieldieu, the French influence on the construction of this scene is unmistakable.[68] The treatment of the chorus is especially noteworthy. Where previously the chorus had merely been used to accompany the soloists without ever acquiring a distinct dramatic function, here it was fully integrated into the musical and dramatic

action. Split into prisoners and prison wards, the chorus contributed much to the scene's animated pace. Rodwell made similar use of the chorus in the chorus and concerted piece of I,iii, where linkmen and passers-by were employed in the pursuit of Paul. The chorus also took on the roles of sailors in the finale, and of robbers in II,i and II,iv. The chorus of II,iv, though not as original as the ensembles in I,iii and I,v, nevertheless reinforced the new dramatic importance of the group. In this number for chorus and male soloist, the bandits, banned by Paul from attacking Lord Mauleverer, take leave of their aristocratic victim; the scene thereby emphasised the chorus as an active part of the plot.

Whether by chance, the only musical numbers of Paul Clifford apparently to have survived in print are among the most simple in both stylistic and structural terms: the opening chorus, the two duets of I,iv and III,ii, and four songs.[69] The chorus of I,i was based on a tripartite form; the duets followed the basic pattern of alternating two solo passages with a brief ensemble; and two of the songs were stanzaic settings. Paul's song of II,iii provided a slight variation on the conventional strophic form, as the three stanzas were each set to different music and unified by the refrain. An unidentifiable ballad for Lucy forms the last vocal number in this set.[70] The designation of plain strophic songs as ballads was becoming increasingly popular during the 1830s; no differentiation in either form or musical content appears, however, to have been sought between the two. The distinct dramatic function of recounting relevant historical or personal events, as attached to ballads in some opéras comiques such as La dame blanche and Fra Diavolo, was not common in English operas until the mid-1840s, when Balfe made extensive use of the inherent dramatic and musical potential.[71] The surviving seven vocal numbers of Paul Clifford testify

to the simplicity of the musical language still employed by so many English composers working for Covent Garden during the 1830s. Although a greater variety of forms was clearly sought by both composer and librettist, the music retained its plainness. The reliance on pleasing and easily comprehensible melodic lines and the avoidance of harmonic complexities were as characteristic of Rodwell's music as they had been of Bishop's.

Although the influence of French operas can be observed in most English works written for Covent Garden during the 1830s, one conspicuous exception should be noted. In his highly successful Amilie Rooke incorporated the most important topical and structural features of the hugely popular operas by Bellini and Donizetti. This unusual transfer of contemporary Italianate attributes into English opera may help to explain the immense popularity of a work which now seems wholly devoid of either musical or dramatic interest.[72] Amilie was apparently composed as early as 1818.[73] Yet neither the construction of the libretto, nor the musical style and forms employed concur with works of that period. Instead, it seems highly probable that Rooke revised the work significantly to integrate the most recent changes in operatic taste and styles before its first performance at Covent Garden in 1837. The confused state of the primary sources, as well as the serious delays in the rehearsal and production process also seem to confirm that substantial alterations were undertaken within weeks of the premiere.[74]

The intricate plot of Amilie centres on a love triangle: Amilie, who is awaiting the return of her betrothed Anderl from his military service, is wooed by the villainous José. Intent upon forcing her hand, José forges a series of letters, in the last of which Anderl apparently breaks off his engagement with Amilie. Her temporary lapse into madness, which is induced by this revelation, is cured through the attentive care

of the Count, who, unknown to Amilie, is Anderl's long-absent father. Her unhappy lot is eventually resolved as Anderl, previously disguised as a gipsy, confronts José and claims his faithful bride. Several parallels with the bel canto operas of Bellini and Donizetti are immediately apparent: the focus on female purity and constancy, the coercion into a loveless marriage, the use of forged letters as an important dramatic device, the last minute resolution of the maiden's predicament, and the introduction of madness as a means of escape from an unbearable fate. Further minor analogies include the religious and filial devotion of the female protagonist and the recent death of her mother.[75]

The inclusion of the most conspicuous topical elements of the Italian operas probably contributed much to the popularity of Amilie. Yet audiences seemed far less interested in the manner in which these ideas were reworked for the English opera and apparently paid little attention to their clumsy execution, the serious structural defects of the libretto or the extremely poor quality of the verse, as the following extract from The Times review of 4 December 1837 suggests:

> The scene is laid in Tyrol, and this has given the composer the happiest opportunity for displaying variety in his airs. We have a hunting chorus..., a Gipsey chorus and song,... a charming ballad in the Tyrolean style... A hymn in the first act is a beautiful specimen of the chaste and solemn style. The author of the libretto... has discovered that the words of an opera need not necessarily be revolting trash. Not only are his verses inoffensive to common sense, but in many instances even poetical.

The two most significant weaknesses of the libretto were its over-attentiveness to detail and the absence of the hero for more than half of the opera. Anderl appears briefly for the first time in II,i, then again in III,i and in the finale of III,iii. The second tenor, to whom this part was assigned, thus participated in three ensembles and was given only one air. The musical insignificance of Anderl was seemingly balanced by the

expansion of José's part into the principal tenor role. Yet the one-dimensional quality of his character lent little variety to either the storyline or the musical development. Possibly in order to compensate for this lack of interest, numerous minor characters were introduced, including another hapless though sensitive admirer and a lively waitress. None, however, was well defined enough to sustain a convincing subplot or to have any significant bearing upon the unfolding of the main plot. Not only do they seem entirely superfluous, but the profusion of irrelevant characters and ensuing incidents lends excessive density and confusion to the plot.[76]

Another notable shortcoming concerns the recovery of Amilie from her madness. Her lapse into insanity, prompted more or less convincingly by the disclosure of her fiancee's apparent infidelity, takes place in full view of the audience in the finale to Act I. Her convalescence, however, is poorly motivated and not employed to any dramatic purpose. The recuperation, stimulated by her realisation that Anderl's letter was a forgery, takes place off-stage during the interval between Acts I and II and is only briefly explained in II,i. A full staging of Amilie's recovery would have given Rooke another opportunity for an extensive vocal number and might have reduced the disjointedness of the libretto at this point. Rooke's and Haines' failure to utilise the dramatic potential of such a scene is all the more surprising, given the current popularity of I puritani, in which the recovery of the heroine from insanity is represented on stage.[77]

The 'characteristic and military ballet' of the final scene provides a similar example of Rooke's unimaginative and even inept handling of novel material.[78] While most contemporary French composers strove to supply at least a semblance of dramatic integrity for the ballets, not to

mention the important dramatic function assigned to dance in Robert le diable or La muette de Portici, no such intentions can be discerned in Amilie. At best, one might say that the ballet for officers and Tyrolian maidens added a colourful and lively scene before the denouement of the opera. Yet it served no dramatic purpose beyond that and indeed seems entirely inappropriate both in its placement and content as it needlessly disrupts the development of the plot.[79] Ballets were very seldom inserted as separate numbers in contemporary English operas and more usually accompanied opening choruses of celebrating villagers, such as in II,i of Clari.[80] While the ballet of Amilie thus represented a rare attempt to include a self-contained dance within an English opera, Rooke made no attempt to provide an appropriate setting or to exploit the dramatic possibilities of such a scene.

Despite the obvious structural weaknesses, the libretto presented Rooke with the opportunity of enhancing the dramatic importance of the music. The amount of spoken dialogue was much reduced, all scenes included musical numbers and extensive sections of prime dramatic significance were set entirely to music. Most prominently, the finale to Act II included the complete scene of Amilie's receipt of the forged letter and her lapse into madness, while Amilie's rescue and reunion with Anderl were captured in the finale to the last act. Although most other musical numbers were not employed as overtly in the dramatic development of the plot, few retained a more traditional, purely descriptive character. The hymn for Amilie and chorus of I,i ("Rest, spirit, rest") served to contrast the young woman's piety and purity with José's base intentions as first revealed in his preceding recitative and air; and the duet of II,i for the first time introduced Anderl, here disguised as the gipsy Pierre, who gloomily predicts José's eventual

downfall. On the other hand, numbers such as Amilie's scena in I,i ("Love, art thou true...Thou art gone") or the recitative and air for the Count in I,ii ("My boyhood's home") were included less for such a specific dramatic purpose, but rather to elucidate the emotions of the principal protagonists.[81] The chorus, though employed extensively throughout the opera, did not have the dramatic importance and independence assigned to it in Paul Clifford. In its various guises as hunters, gypsies and villagers, the chorus in Amilie merely helped to provide the appropriate visual and cultural background. With two exceptions, the Yagers' Mountain Chorus of II,i and the gypsies' chorus of III,i, the musical role of the chorus was accordingly limited to the accompaniment of the soloists in their solos and ensembles.

Rooke made considerable use of recurring melodic themes which provided a musical and narrative link between the acts. Unlike the air in Clari, these "reminiscences" were not restricted to a single melodic phrase which would be repeated periodically, but were rather designed to establish a more complex web of musical and dramatic associations. Thus the organ, first heard in the hymn of I,i, played the vocal line of that piece at the close of the second act finale; Amilie's religious devotion was thereby evoked at the very moment of her mental breakdown. The gypsies' chorus of III,i ("Tarry not, brothers") was partially repeated throughout that scene and thus signalled the proximity of Amilie's rescuer; the promise of imminent salvation was further intensified through the off-stage repetition of part of Amilie's scena of I,i by Anderl in the same scene.

In accordance with the more diverse dramatic purposes for which Rooke intended his music, the formal design of the opera and of the individual numbers was more involved than in most contemporary

English operas. Table 5. sets out the musical numbers of Amilie.[82]

Table 5.

I,i	Introduction (Recit., Air/ Chorus) Recit./Song Hymn Scena (Recit./Air, Recit./Air)	II,i	Scena (Recit./Air, Recit./Air) Recit./Duet Chorus	III,i	Recit./ Chorus, Ensemble Recit./Air Recit./Air Trio
I,ii	Song Duet Recit./Air Finale (Recit., Octet or Trio/Quintet, Ensemble)	II,ii	Recit./Air Recit./Air Finale (Recit./ Ensemble)	III,ii	[Song/ Chorus]
				III,iii	Ballet Finale (Ensemble: Quintet/ Duet or Trio)

Rooke still adhered to the traditional scheme of restricting large ensembles to the opening and closing scenes of each act. Yet the unusual diversity of the forms employed in the solos and the remarkable complexity of the finales are immediately apparent. The latter, intended to convey some of the key moments of the drama, comprised several extended ensembles.[83] The solo numbers included the familiar airs and songs, though here frequently preceded by recitative, several numbers in which soloists were accompanied by the chorus, as well as a lengthy scena for each of the two principal singers. Unusually, none of the vocal numbers were strophic settings; instead, Rooke relied heavily on forms commonly found in contemporary Italian operas, most prominently in the two scene in I,i and II,i.[84] Although Rooke appears to have preferred slightly more elaborate forms for the solo numbers, the smaller ensembles, and those numbers involving a soloist and the chorus were based on simple formal patterns. The hymn of I,i, for example, alternated a choral passage with a solo section for Amilie without ever combining the two vocal parts. The duet for Amilie and the Count in I,i

was in a single tempo, with two short solos and a closing ensemble. The duet of II,i for José and Pierre (Anderl) followed the conventional pattern of recitative, cantabile (here marked Andantino), a short connecting passage (Allegro) and a concluding cabaletta (Allegro moderato); the ensemble sections within this number were characterised largely by parallel motion of the two parts, a basic technique also employed in the trio of Act III.[85] The extensive use of recitative was a further remarkable Italianate feature of Amilie. With the exception of the song for the waitress Lelia in I,ii, all solo numbers were preceded by recitatives. Many of the ensembles, including two of the finales, were also introduced by recitative rather than spoken dialogue.

Unlike most of his English contemporaries, Rooke not only utilized diverse musical structures, but also strove to introduce a more complex musical language into his opera. Although, like Bishop, Rooke did not adopt an overall tonal scheme for his opera and did not transcend the tonal range of four accidentals, he far more commonly employed key changes and modulations to heighten the dramatic tension. While Rooke's attempt to put such compositional techniques to a specific dramatic purpose are noteworthy, he showed a singular lack of musical originality in their execution. Predictably, these harmonic devices were used most extensively in the finales. Amilie's lapse into temporary madness in the finale to Act II is mirrored by a gradual descent from F major, via B flat major and E flat major, to F minor. Her melancholy farewell to all worldly pleasures and José's continued attempts to gain Amilie's hand in the third act finale are set in D minor; a brief modulation to B flat major announces Anderl's arrival and Amilie's rescue. The tonal scheme of the solo numbers and smaller ensembles was more limited, indeed most contained no key changes at all. Some, however, such as the

introduction to Act I or the duet for José and Pierre in II,i reveal a cautious attempt to utilise tonal colour for dramatic purposes.

As no full score appears to have survived, an assessment of Rooke's orchestration is difficult. The incompleteness of the primary sources, and the tendency of publishers to include only minimal information on orchestration in vocal scores only allows for a few general remarks. The few instruments marked in the vocal score suggest a generally conventional application; horns and other brass and wind instruments, for example, accompanied the vocal numbers involving hunters and gypsies. A few passages, however, hint at a more varied use of orchestral colour: the unusual incorporation of the organ to accompany the I,i hymn off stage, possibly inspired by similar scenes in Robert le diable and La muette de Portici, or the part for solo violoncello in the recitative, and possibly the air, for the Count in II,ii. These scenes indicate that Rooke may at least occasionally have attempted to apply to orchestration similarly innovative methods as in the formal design of his music.

Throughout the 1830s English composers and librettists working at Covent Garden evidently endeavoured to distance themselves from the concept of writing "dramas with songs". Yet while they were moderately successful in adopting the structural and dramatic innovations of contemporary French and Italian operas, they seemingly failed to produce works of lasting artistic and musical merit. Nevertheless, many of these artists appear to have been shrewd judges of their audience's taste. The assimilation of some of the most characteristic features of contemporary foreign works and their combination with the distinguishing traits of English opera on a number of occasions resulted in new operas which were apparently immensely attractive to the

playhouse audience. Judged by their performance frequency, works such as Amilie and Paul Clifford which were based on the fusion of these diverse elements, were an artistic and financial success - an assessment also highlighted by the subsequent commissions received by the composers and librettists from the theatre's managers.[86] Such achievements may now seem bewildering, given the mediocrity of the compositional talent exhibited in these works. Nonetheless, they remain important historical documents which not only serve to define the repertory of the playhouse at Covent Garden, but also further our understanding of London's operatic culture during the first half of the 19th century.

NOTES

[1]See for example, The National Drama, 14; George Rodwell, A letter to the musicians of Great Britain; containing a prospectus of proposed plans for the better encouragement of native musical talent (London: James Fraser, 1833).

[2]See for example White, The Rise of English Opera, 86-87; ditto, A History of English Opera, 248-49; Nicholas Temperley and Bruce Carr, 'Sir Henry Rowley Bishop', Opera Grove, i:482-83; Temperley, 'Great Britain', ibid., ii:525-26.

[3]Roger Fiske makes a similar point about 18th-century English opera (581). Eric Walter White's two books on English opera and George Biddlecombe's thesis on Michael Balfe remain the only detailed studies of this period to date (Biddlecombe, English Opera from 1834 to 1864 with particular reference to the works of Michael Balfe (PhD dissertation, University of London, 1990).

[4]See chapter three, pp.145 and 154 and chapter four, note 15.

[5]Similarly, Vincent Wallace's works were not performed at Covent Garden until 1848 and will only be referred to briefly during the subsequent discussion. For a more detailed examination of Balfe's work, see George Biddlecombe's dissertation (note 3); White, A History of English Opera, 263-87 (Balfe) and 288-91 (Wallace).

[6]See chapter six, pp.296-97, 311 and 315-21 for a discussion of the house composer's duties; see White, A History of English Opera for an overview of English opera composers 1800 to 1850.

[7]See chapter six, pp.294-95. Few librettists had a literary career beyond the musical stage, while the more successful playwrights and novelists, such as Bulwer-Lytton, Sheridan Knowles and Dickens, seemed to avoid any close contact with opera.

[8]See for example White, A History of English Opera, 255-56 and John Warrack, Carl Maria von Weber (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1968) 316-18.

[9]Weber to Planché, 6 Jan, 19 Feb 1825, reproduced in J.R.Planché, Oberon, King of the Fairies...To which are prefixed three unpublished letters... by the composer, to M.Planché (London: A.Schloss, [1842]); see also Planché, i:75-76.

[10]Both date and source of Bishop's statement remain unidentified by Richard Northcott, although its context suggests that it originates from the composer's lecture notes compiled during the 1840s and 1850s (R.Northcott, The Life of Sir Henry R. Bishop (London: The Press Printers, 1920) 11. For critical appraisals of Bishop, see for example Temperley and Carr, 'Bishop', 483; Carr, 'T.S.Cooke', 939; J.A. Fuller-Maitland, Music in the XIXth Century, 2 vols (New York: E.P.Dutton 1902; reprinted Portland, Maine: Longwood Press, 1976) i:103-4.

[11]Planché, i:80 and 83.

[12]Similar criticism has been expressed by a number of modern scholars, see for example Temperley, 'Bishop', 483; Carr, 'Cooke', 939; Warrack, 317.

[13]Preface to W.Dimond, Native Land; or, The Return from Slavery... As performed at the Theatre-Royal, Covent-Garden (London: R.S.Kirby, 1824). The music to this opera was in fact assembled from various Rossini operas (Fenner, 462-63).

[14]Patrick J.Smith, The Tenth Muse: A Historical Study of the Opera Libretto (New York: Schirmer Books, 1975) 184; Karen Pendle, Eugène Scribe and French Opera of the Nineteenth Century (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1979) 35 and 53.

[15]John Burgoyne, The Lord of the Manor... with remarks, biographical and critical, by D-G. (London: John Cumberland, [1826?]); see also Fenner, 509.

[16]Bunn's preface to his libretto to The Daughter of St.Mark indicates just how unusual this work was: 'Having been repeatedly blamed, by the ablest critics of the public press, for introducing dialogue in my other Operas, I have determined on presenting, for the first time, one entirely in recitative' (quoted in White, A History of English Opera, 280).

[17]Temperley, 'Bishop', 483; see also Temperley, 'Great Britain', 526.

[18]Fiske discusses at length the 18th century debate over the advantages of operas with spoken dialogue over all-sung opera (262-66).

[19]See for example Cecil Forsyth, Music and Nationalism: A study of English opera (London: Macmillan, 1911) 163-79; and White, A History of English Opera, 293-94; compare also Fenner, 352-53.

[20]Temperley, 'Great Britain', 526.

[21]Pendle, 41-51; Fiske, 262; Smith, 131-32 and 139.

[22]For a detailed discussion of the sources to Planché's Oberon, see Warrack, 308-317. The parentheses include the year of the first performance of the opera and the librettist.

[23]Preface by Fitzball to the libretto of Maritana (London: W.S.Johnson, Nassau Steam Press, 1845); see also Planché's introduction to the libretto of Oberon.

[24]White, A History of English Opera, 292.

[25]ibid., 245-48.

[26]In his introduction to the 1820 edition of Rob Roy Macgregor William Oxberry suggested that the popularity of Scott's novels acted as an bar against adapting them for the stage, as 'Any aberration from the direct broad road of the romance, is considered a high crime and misdemeanour against the name of Walter Scott' (Isaac Pocock, Rob Roy Macgregor; or,

Auld Lang Syne... with prefatory remarks...By W.Oxberry, Comedian (London: W.Simpkin and R.Marshall, 1820)).

[27]Shakespeare, too, was all but ignored by English librettists and opera composers. During the 1830s the only opera to be performed at Covent Garden which was based on one of his plays was Lacy's obscure All's well that ends well (1832).

[28]See chapter three, p.136. Apparently even more extreme in its reliance on visual splendour than Weber's opera was the rival version of Oberon mounted at Drury Lane just two weeks before the Covent Garden premiere (Warrack, 312).

[29]Further resemblances to Italian opera are examined on pp.301-302 and 306. Emanuele Senici explored these images of Italian opera in his paper 'Alpine Virgins: Ambience and Genre in Verdi's Luisa Miller', Institute of Advanced Musical Studies, King's College London, 1 May 1996.

[30]Thomas Morton, The Slave.... with remarks, biographical and critical, by D-G. (London: John Cumberland, [1829]).

[31]I.Pocock, The Miller and His Men... with remarks, biographical and critical, by D-G. (London: John Cumberland, [1830]); on Oberon, see Warrack, 339 and Julius Benedict, Carl Maria von Weber (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1881) 121-22.

[32]The Times, 8 May 1823; see also Fenner, 474.

[33]Rey Morgan Longyear, D.F.E. Auber: A Chapter in the History of the Opéra Comique, 1800-1878 (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1957) 5-7, quoted in Pendle, 38.

[34]The reviewer of the premiere in The Times noted with scepticism, that 'We do not very well understand the morality or the pathos of this [last] scene, but it concluded the piece and was greatly applauded' (8 May 1823).

[35]Pendle, 38, 46-47, 60; Smith, 185; Fiske, 267, 306.

[36]Subsequent revivals of Clari apparently saw much of the comic subplot omitted, principally to bring the opera within the length of an afterpiece (John Howard Payne, Clari; or, The Maid of Milan (London: John Cumberland, [1830])).

[37]Smith, 185; Pendle, 38 and 60.

[38]Preface to Native Land.

[39]Preface to Daniel Terry, Guy Mannering; or, The Gipsy's Prophecy... with remarks, biographical and critical, by D-G. (London: John Cumberland, [1829]).

[40]Compare Pendle for a similar development in opéras comiques (53).

[41]Pendle, Appendix A, 570-79. Pendle's list extends to 1870, but even these later works seldom demanded larger casts. In the following, the cast size is given in parenthesis.

[42]See chapter four, p.216.

[43]Wallace's Maritana of 1845 appears to have been one of the very few operas in which actors were virtually excluded from the cast and in which each part was assigned some music.

[44]Pendle does not differentiate between actors and singers or singing and speaking parts in her list of opéras comiques (Appendix A, 570-84). Nevertheless, a survey of libretti as well as Pendle's discussion of opéras comiques in general suggest that singers and singing parts by far outnumbered the actors and speaking parts; the latter were usually confined to minor characters.

[45]Most actors received some form of musical training, which enabled them to participate if not as principal singers, then at least in ensembles (Fiske, 268).

[46]For similar 18th century practices see Fiske, 268 and 444. Weber's preconceived plans for the overall structure of Oberon apparently prompted a highly unusual solution to the problem of adequate casting. At the premiere the part of Sherasmin was performed by two artists: it was acted by the stage manager John Fawcett 'while a bass, Isaacs, was brought in to help out in the quartet...' (Warrack, 334).

[47]The part of the Duke may originally have been conceived for a singer. Three months before the premiere the librettist John Howard Payne mentioned three songs he had 'given to the Prince' (Payne to Bishop, 12 Feb 1823, in Northcott, 73). These appear to have been omitted from the final version of the opera.

[48]The emphasis placed on this character may also have been due to the engagement of William Pearman, who appears to have been the only competent tenor engaged at Covent Garden during the season of 1822/23 (Fenner, 659).

[49]Northcott, 73.

[50]A number of reviews commented favourably on this aspect of Clari (Fenner, 474).

[51]The choice of title was almost certainly a deliberate reference to the highly popular song in Clari. There are, however, only tenuous thematic links between the two works and the sole musical connection occurs in the overture, which incorporates the melody of the earlier song as a clarinet solo.

[52]Choruses without parts for soloists were also rare in opéra comique (Pendle, 90).

[53]See for example his adaptation of Boieldieu's Les deux nuits, chapter six, pp.296-97, 311-12, 314.

[54]This requirement also affected the production of foreign operas in London, see chapter six, pp.315-17 and 327.

[55]The following observations on the music of Home Sweet Home are based on three principal primary sources: I.Pocock, Home, Sweet Home!; or The Ranz des Vaches... (London: S.R.Kirby, 1829); Plays from the Lord Chamberlain's Office, xxx (Feb-March 1829): Home sweet Home or the Ranz des Vaches, BL.Add.42,894, ff.422-54; H.Bishop, Home, sweet Home! or, The Ranz des Vaches... Originale. 1829, autograph full score, BL.Add.27,724.

[56]On recitative in 18th- and 19th-century English opera see Fiske (264) and Fenner (591-96).

[57]Action finales had been introduced to English operas by Storace and Dibdin (ibid., 263-64).

[58]Northcott, 11.

[59]Pendle, 70 and 113. For examples of similar uses of this musical device see Maritana and The Bondman; see also p.274 for Rooke's Amilie.

[60]Pendle, 112.

[61]Another influence on Bishop's compositional style may have been the audience's preference for the "beautiful". Jennifer Hall has argued that London audiences commonly associated the Italian bel canto operas of Rossini, and later Bellini and Donizetti, with beauty: 'Beautiful music did not express the profound rumblings of the soul but was, instead, meant to entertain and to please' (Hall, 299). Such notions seem very closely related to the opinions by Dimond and his fellow critics cited earlier, in which entertainment, not intellectual challenge, was considered the ultimate goal of all musical and dramatic works. Hall has provided a thorough investigation of the concepts of the beautiful and sublime as they appear to have applied to Italian and German opera in London during the first half of the 19th century (299-309). A similar analysis of 19th-century English operas, which might facilitate a better understanding of these works, is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

[62]The few alterations which are made to Bishop's songs and ensembles usually concern transpositions for lower voice ranges; compare also his adaptations of foreign operas, chapter six, pp.311-12.

[63]Not all of these alterations were acknowledged in the printed publications, though the original arrangement of the music can usually be established with some degree of certainty through comparison with the libretto and other primary sources. Similar changes were also made in publications of excerpts from foreign operas, see chapter six, p.312.

[64]Pendle, 94-98.

[65]ibid., 88.

[66]Fitzball, Paul Clifford (London: J.Duncombe & Co, [1835]); Plays from the Lord Chamberlain's Office, lxvii (Sept-Oct 1835): Paul Clifford; or, The Highwayman of 1735, BL.Add.42,931, ff.755-95. For

the surviving music, see pp.269-70 and note 68.

[67]Pendle, 70.

[68]No music apparently survives for this scene; the only two sources are the printed libretto and the manuscript libretto submitted to the Lord Chamberlain; see note 66.

[69]The pagination of the individual vocal numbers suggests that a complete vocal score was published, though only seven numbers are held in the British Library: "Cuckoo! Cuckoo!" (chorus, I,i), "Mother give your boy a kiss" (Song, I,i), "These men are all deceivers" (Song, I,iv), "Oh promise me by those bright eyes" (duet, I,iv), "The Road! The Road!" (Song, II,iii), "I'll tell thee when we meet again" (duet, III,ii), "Why thus wildly throbs my bosom" (ballad, unidentified); all were published (London: D'Almaine & Co, [1835?]).

[70]The printed libretto does not include this ballad, although the manuscript copy of the libretto contains an additional song for Lucy in III,ii. Whether this solo was replaced by the ballad or simply omitted altogether in the actual performance is unclear.

[71]See for example the Ballads in The Enchantress (I,i) and The Bondman (I,i).

[72]Bishop had frequently imitated Rossini's compositional style in his operas composed during the early 1820s. The importance of this particular Italian influence had, however, declined by the 1830s.

[73]Grove, Opera Grove and White give the date of composition as 1818, though according to The Dictionary of Music and Musicians the opera was composed around 1826 (Grove, xvi:182; Opera Grove, iv:38; White, A History of English Opera, 263; The Dictionary of Music and Musicians, iii:157).

[74]Macready noted on 21 October 1837 that 'Mr Rooke had not the music ready to give to the band!!!' and therefore wanted the premiere postponed; a further delay occurred on 27 October when Macready learnt that 'perhaps the music would be in the orchestra on Saturday, November 11th!!' (Toynbee, i:419 and 421). In the event Amilie was not performed before 2 December. Three variant sources survive for the first production: John Thomas Haines, Plays from the Lord Chamberlain's Office, lxxix (Oct-Dec 1837): Amilie; or The Love Test, submitted on 23 Nov 1837, BL.Add.42,943, ff.148-221; Songs, Duets, Trios, Recitatives, Choruses &c in the new Grand Romantic Opera of Amilie, [libretto containing vocal numbers only] (London: W.W.right, [1837]); W.M.Rooke, Amilie, or The Love Test, [vocal score] (London: Duff & Hodson, and Cramer, Addison & Beale, [1838]). A further libretto printed for a production in Melbourne, Australia in 1862, though of limited reliability, has also been consulted (Amilie, as given by Lyster's Grand Opera Company (Melbourne: Abbott & Co, 1862)).

[75]The correspondence with bel canto operas in terms of location has already been noted on p.250.

[76]Rooke appears to have made some attempt to limit the number of subplots for the premiere at Covent Garden in 1837. The manuscript libretto submitted to the Lord Chamberlain contains an expendable Song with chorus for the Count's valet Grenadot in I,ii, in which the servant is mistaken for the his master and vice versa; this was omitted from all other sources (BL.Add. 42,943).

[77]Hall, 267-69 and Appendix E.

[78]BL.Add.42,943. The ballet is entitled 'The Amilie Waltz' in the vocal score.

[79]The manuscript libretto submitted to the Lord Chamberlain supports the view, that the ballet here served merely a visual purpose. According to this libretto, the opera closes on 'The Ensemble sings various parts of the above... Ballet &. at Back dancing & as Curtain descends salute from military &c&c. Tableau' (BL.Add.42,943).

[80]Compare chapter six, pp.315, 321 and 330. Later operas by Balfe and Wallace more frequently included self-contained ballets. Though dance in works such as Maritana, The Bohemian Girl or The Bondman was also conceived principally as visual entertainment, these ballets were designed as part of social events which were integral to the plot.

[81]The extant sources for Amilie suggest that Rooke may originally have adhered more consistently to such a conventional use of the musical numbers. The manuscript libretto submitted to the Lord Chamberlain included, among other variants, five additional solos and ensembles not included in any of the published sources. Some of these might conceivably have originated in the 1818 version, though they were subsequently discarded for the premiere. All of these numbers were descriptive in character and were not essential to the dramatic unfolding of the plot (BL.Add.42,943).

[82]Due to the complexity of the primary source, this diagram only presents a tentative outline of Amilie as produced in 1837. The additional vocal numbers found in the censor's copy of the libretto have not been included, as they were almost certainly not performed.

[83]The discrepancies between the various primary sources preclude an exact reconstruction of the actual form and content of the finales. The contradictions between the sources seem indicative of the problems Rooke might have had in creating appropriate musical settings for such complex dramatic scenes.

[84]Variants among the primary sources suggest that Amilie might originally have included some strophic settings. Amilie's Scena of I,i is replaced by an Air with three verses in the printed 1837 libretto; the same source also contains a 'Tyrolese Yager's Song' for José and Chorus in III,ii, which apparently had seven verses. The manuscript copy of the libretto includes a second verse for Pierre's (ie. Anderl's) Song of III,i. None of these variants are extant in the vocal score.

[85]Lorenzo Bianconi, 'Italy', Opera Grove, ii:851.

[86]See chapter three, pp.155-56 and 158, and chapter six, p.290.

Chapter Six

Producing Foreign Opera

For most of the 19th century, the opera repertory of London's principal theatres was comprised chiefly of adaptations and translations of foreign operas. Only a comparatively small number of works were especially written for either the patent theatres or the Italian opera houses. The financial benefits associated with the production of imported foreign operas were considerable and apparently significantly higher than for newly commissioned operas. This was due in part to audiences' long-established preference for foreign "novelties" which impresarios were eager to satisfy. Managers were, moreover, able to reduce the potential pecuniary risks associated with new works by importing operas with a proven track record. This was a highly opportune policy given the precarious financial state of many of the theatre companies, as well as the increased production costs associated with grand opéra.

Given the nature of the source material, it is frequently impossible to reconstruct specific productions of foreign operas in their entirety. Enough information can nonetheless be gleaned to establish with some certainty the working methods involved in preparing the requisite performance material, and to assess the styles of translation and their effect on the music, as well as the diverse practical and artistic factors which influenced the way in which operas were adapted for the London stage. At the playhouse, the process of translating and adapting a foreign opera frequently led to an extensive remodelling of the original work. Some of the underlying musical traditions appear to have been closely related to those which influenced the composition of English operas for the playhouse. This is particularly apparent in the preference for simple musical forms and the dislike of recitatives. The

revision of works for the opera house were generally less drastic and seem to have been guided by the conventions of the Italian stage, as exemplified by the modification of complex musical forms, the creation of an Italian performance text and the transformation of spoken dialogue into recitative.

1) Financial and Artistic Benefits

One of the primary considerations for theatre and opera managers in determining the details of the opera repertory was the audience's long held 'universal passion for novelty', and more especially for foreign novelty.[1] The intense rivalry between the various companies over new foreign operas, as well as the regularity with which playbills, prospectuses and other advertisements stressed their newness bear witness to the importance managers and audiences alike attached to these works.[2] Since the introduction of opera to London, the repertory of the opera house had been organised around new works. John Ebers, manager of the King's Theatre during the 1820s, considered that 'very few [operas] maintained their powers of attraction through innumerable representations'; audiences were simply bored by repetitions of the same work over a number of seasons.[3] It was only from the late 1840s onwards that something like a repertory canon emerged, although operas new to London continued to hold immense appeal.

The origins of opera in Italy go some way in explaining the prominent position which foreign works held on London's stages. Although embraced by a number of English composers, opera was inherently an imported art form. Throughout the 18th century Italian and German composers and artists worked for London's opera house, where they produced both original works as well as adaptations of

imported operas. By the beginning of the 19th century, the tradition of performing foreign opera was accordingly well-established and managers appear not to have considered it worthwhile commissioning operas from resident composers.[4] Moreover, the considerable expense of producing new works, and the precarious financial state in which the Italian opera house in particular found itself from the late 18th century onwards probably made the almost exclusive reliance on adapted foreign works seem increasingly more expedient.

In addition to fulfilling audience expectations, theatre and opera managers were acutely aware of the pecuniary benefits that could attend the staging of foreign works.[5] The financial risks involved in investing in costly new productions could be greatly reduced by acquiring works which had already been staged successfully abroad. In the assumption that success in Continental opera houses, and at the Parisian theatres in particular, would increase attendance and hence the probability of financial success in London, previous triumphs abroad were emphasised in the advertisements for London productions.[6] The need for such quality assurances probably intensified as the expense of presenting operas rose firstly, through the introduction of grands opéras which required larger casts and elaborate sets and costumes, and secondly, through the heightened costs of acquiring performance and copyrights.

London companies could also benefit practically from previous stagings. Impresarios may occasionally have been able to draw on the original costumes for London performances. Bunn appears to have been the only manager to publicise such links, though others might also have taken advantage of existing productions. The costumes for Gustavus the Third, The Challenge and Lestocq were based on 'Paris and other Authorities' and 'the most authentic Sources'; Bunn had previously been

to see the Parisian productions of these operas.[7] Due to the language barrier, an exchange of singers between the London playhouses and foreign theatres was extremely rare. The ballet department, by contrast, was regularly augmented with dancers from Paris.[8] Managers at the Royal Italian Opera commonly employed singers already familiar with the new works intended for production. Castellan and Viardot, for example, had both participated in the premiere of Le prophète at the Opéra in 1849 and were engaged to perform the parts of Berthe and Fidès at the Royal Italian Opera in 1850 and 1851. Similarly, the tenor Massol had been one of the original cast in Les Huguenots and La Juive at the Opéra and again appeared in these works at the Royal Italian Opera during the 1850 season. In 1855 Gye was able to mount an especially attractive production of Don Pasquale, 'represented by the same artistes for whom it was originally written': Grisi, Lablache, Tamburini and Mario.[9] In addition to the glamour which such associations could lend to the London performances, they also reduced rehearsal time and consequently production costs, and thereby probably added to the attractions of staging new foreign operas.

Finally, there are indications that foreign operas could yield far greater receipts than newly commissioned works, whether in English or Italian.[10] Rophino Lacy's adaptation Cinderella was the only operatic production which matched Fanny Kemble's popularity and financial success; it regularly brought nightly receipts between £250 and £350 during the seasons of 1829/30 and 1830/31.[11] Other foreign operas staged during these seasons also regularly attracted large audiences. Nightly receipts for Ninetta (La gazza ladra) and Azor and Zemira during February 1830 and April 1831 respectively ranged between £200 and £260, though attendance figures dropped below £200 after the initial

runs. By comparison, nightly receipts both for revivals and new English operas produced during the same period, such as The Duenna, Clari or Home Sweet Home, usually totalled less than £200 and indeed often fell below £100. Bunn most overtly exploited the financial potential of foreign opera, as the lengthy run of Gustavus throughout the 1833/34 and 1834/35 seasons indicates.[12] At Drury Lane in 1837, receipts for The Jewess (La Juive) brought average nightly receipts of £400 and again prompted Bunn to programme numerous repeat performances of this work. At the same time, he calculated that receipts at Covent Garden for the popular Paul Clifford may have been as high as £220 per night.[13] Taking into account that Bunn's estimate was accompanied by his usual insults towards the rival company, the actual figure may have been somewhat higher. Nevertheless, it does seem to suggest that managers could not hope to gain as high an income even from a popular new English opera as from foreign operas.

One exception was the 1836 Drury Lane production of Balfe's The Maid of Artois, which on average brought nightly receipts of £355. Audiences were, however, almost certainly drawn to this production primarily because of the casting of Malibran in the lead role; her appearances in La sonnambula and Fidelio in 1835 and 1836 brought slightly lower receipts of between £311 and £333 per night.[14] Malibran's success highlights another advantage which foreign had over English operas. At the playhouse, foreign works tended to attract more illustrious singers and hence to draw much larger audiences. Another such example is Adelaide Kemble, whose appearances in a number of Italian operas in 1841 to 1842 enticed audiences away from practically all other operatic and dramatic productions.[15]

At the Royal Italian Opera new works fared hardly any better than

at the playhouse. The only opera commissioned by Gye, Pietro il grande, had a short run of four performances in 1852 and was not revived thereafter. Gye evidently did not expect the opera to recoup its production costs, since he insisted on Jullien's financial backing for the venture.[16] Some years later, Gye expressed his frustration at the financial uncertainties inherent in new operas even more openly: 'Second night of Il Guarany ... only £69 in the house - so much for new operas'.[17] Gye was far more interested in composers whose works would guarantee the company a secure income. His championing of Meyerbeer, although inspired no doubt by an admiration for the composer himself, was aided by the knowledge that 'any work of Meyerbeer' was practically guaranteed both artistic and financial success in London.[18]

2) Adaptation versus Original

Although the increased emphasis on adapted over original operas was a 19th-century development, the process itself was not a 19th-century invention but rather an extension of 18th-century theatrical practices. Adaptations and translations had featured prominently in the repertory of the King's Theatre and the two patent theatres throughout the 18th century. Scarcely a foreign work was left untouched and even English works did not escape revision and adaptation during subsequent revivals.[19] This practice was based on the assumption that works had to be modified to conform to the peculiar production circumstances and traditions: the particular artists engaged, the formation of the orchestra, the position of the opera within an evening's entertainment, and, by extension, the audience's expectation and taste.[20]

Alterations ranged from straightforward translations into English or Italian to the restructuring and creation of virtually new works in the

tradition of the pasticcio.[21] The process of translating and adapting an opera was similar for opera and playhouse productions. Adaptations for the playhouse, however, typically resulted in radical transformations and were usually devised without the composer's assent. Alterations carried out for the opera house, on the other hand, tended to be more limited and, where more extensive modifications were required, frequently incorporated significant contributions by the composer.

From the mid-1830s, demands were increasingly made for productions to adhere more closely to the composer's original work.[22] Gruneisen was one of the most vociferous advocates of this policy and repeatedly voiced the hope that the new opera house at Covent Garden would implement the necessary changes.

> [the composers'] inspirations must be done full justice to - no mangling - no cutting - no turning of adagios into allegros to give time for the sensual ballet.[23]

Yet these calls must be treated with caution as the contemporary notion of the "original" work was very different from our own. Throughout the 1830s and until at least the early 1840s, many new playhouse productions of foreign operas were advertised as presenting the "Whole of the Original Music". At the same time, the playbills credited English composers and librettists with their arrangement and adaptation. Even where such acknowledgements were not included, an examination of extant libretti and scores frequently discloses extensive alterations. Announcements for the Italian opera houses should be treated with similar circumspection. In his blatantly partisan pamphlet Memoir of Meyerbeer Gruneisen, for example, seemed scandalised by the 1847 staging of Robert le diable at Her Majesty's, labelling it a 'massacre' of Meyerbeer's opera; he was even more outraged by the 1848 revival - 'a base act of Vandalism' - in which Acts II and IV as well as one of the two

principal soprano parts were apparently omitted. By contrast, Gruneisen praised the Royal Italian Opera production of Les Huguenots for adhering to Meyerbeer's intentions.[24] This staging in fact still contained numerous extensive alterations, though these had admittedly been approved by Meyerbeer. The opera was hence produced not in its "original" form, but rather in one which reflected the original work more accurately while conforming to the particular performance conditions. Gruneisen's demand might accordingly be interpreted as one for preserving the integrity of an opera, rather than producing a replica of the "authentic" work.

Similar calls do not appear to have been extended to the possibility of staging operas in their original language; it was not until the late 19th century that such a change was deemed necessary.[25] By the 1830s, the translation of all operatic works into English for playhouse productions was a well established procedure and one which, whilst not explicitly prescribed by the patent, was in accordance with Covent Garden's tradition of performing all entertainments in English.[26] The translation of operas into Italian, on the other hand, was linked to the licence granted to Her Majesty's, which specifically bound that company to such a practice and had hence established this as a customary procedure for London's opera house. The Italian bias of the opera house repertory during the 18th and early 19th century, too, must have made performances in Italian seem appropriate. Moreover, Italian was considered by many 'the best language for singing' and therefore the only language in which opera could be performed properly.[27] As for intelligibility, audiences had long since become accustomed to following the proceedings on stage in bilingual libretti, a format which was retained for all Royal Italian Opera publications.[28]

There was consequently no question that the newly established opera company at Covent Garden would perform in any other language than Italian. Few seemed to perceive a discrepancy between the language adopted for performances and the non-Italian repertory which was demanded and eventually presented at the Royal Italian Opera.

> The Italian language being the best adapted for musical sounds, there is no reason why the standard gems of the French and German schools, and I beg to add also the English, should be excluded from the boards of the Royal Italian Opera.[29]

Furthermore, the close structural affinity apparently sought with Italian operas in the adaptation of grands opéras, as exemplified in the 1848 production of Les Huguenots, suggests that the translation into Italian may have been considered integral to this process of transformation.[30]

3) Personnel and Working Procedures

Responsibility for adapting a foreign opera for performance at both the playhouse and the opera house was shared between a playwright or house poet who was commissioned to translate the original libretto and to make any structural changes deemed necessary, and a composer who made the requisite changes to the music and, where required, provided new music. At the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, translations and adaptations of foreign libretti were usually commissioned from freelance authors. Many playwrights had long-standing links with the patent theatre, although few if any appear to have been employed as a regular house librettist during the first half of the 19th century. Planché acted as 'a sort of unofficial house author' to Kemble in the 1820s, when he provided the company with numerous new and adapted libretti, as well as other musical and dramatic entertainments.[31] Fitzball's regular employment in 1835 to 1837 seems to suggest that he, too, may have held a similar position during Osbaldiston's tenure. During that period,

Fitzball supplied all libretti required for new operatic works as well as the translations and adaptations of new foreign operas.[32] Yet in general, the diversity of the playhouse repertory required a greater variety of styles and a larger number of new pieces than any single author could supply, and the engagement of playwrights for particular productions was therefore a necessity.

Remuneration for playhouse librettists was based on the same payment scheme as that for authors of dramas, whereby a fixed sum was agreed, depending on the number of representations, and usually paid in instalments on the third, sixth, ninth and fortieth nights. During the 1820s and early 1830s, authors working for the patent theatres could expect to earn between £300 and £400 for a new libretto, depending on the length of the work and the standing of the writer.[33] With the decline in the patent theatres' financial fortunes, payment levels for dramas decreased, a trend which was also reflected in fees offered to librettists; in 1834 Bunn, for example, was prepared to pay authors only '£200 for a 3 Act Opera'.[34] Adaptations and translations appear to have attracted earnings similar to those for entirely new libretti, an indication perhaps of the artistic and financial value placed on these works. James Kenney was promised a fee of up to £300, depending on the length of the run, for his adaptation of Masaniello; or, The Dumb Girl of Portici (Drury Lane, 1829); William Dimond received £200 for Native Land (1824), a work which was drawn from several operas by Rossini; Rophino Lacy was paid £300 for The Maid of Judah (1829), another work assembled from various Rossini operas.[35]

Translations for the playhouse at Covent Garden almost invariably coincided with a complete restructuring of the original opera. The exact working methods can only be partly reconstructed, but it appears that

the playwright engaged to translate the foreign opera, rather than the house composer, was usually responsible for these alterations.

> To mete out words and syllables expressing a given meaning, under the shackles of musical accent; to follow the starts and sallies and sinuosities of a composer, from one language to another, and furnish at the same time to the reader, verses above contempt... converting the recitative of La Muette de Portici, into a characteristic English dialogue - lopping off redundancies, and making some slight additions, giving colour and reality to the action, is all I have done for Masaniello, and fortunately all it required of me.[36]

The music was adapted either by the resident music director or a free-lance composer.[37] This involved the selection of the original music to be included and its adaptation to the new words, as well as the composition of new music.

The only full manuscript score to have survived for a Covent Garden production of this period - the adaptation of Boieldieu's opéra comique Les deux nuits as The Night before the Wedding and the Wedding Night by Fitzball and Bishop in 1829 - provides a rare insight into working procedures at the playhouse.[38] Part of the score was almost certainly imported from France, a common practice at Covent Garden and most other London theatres.[39] It contains the Opéra-Comique version of Les deux nuits, with the text and performance markings in French. Bound into this manuscript are Bishop's autographs of the substitute songs and other large scale alterations. Bishop annotated the French part of the score throughout, marking deletions, adjusting individual vocal lines and the orchestration, amending the music to incorporate substitutions, and adding cues for the singers. The French text was replaced with the new English translation, all French character names were substituted with the appropriate English names and most French dynamic markings were translated into the standard Italian. Whether Fitzball inserted the

English words into the manuscript score is uncertain; a comparison with other samples of his handwriting have so far proved inconclusive. Alternatively, Bishop may have been assisted by one of the house copyists, who would have had access to Fitzball's translation.[40] Few changes were made to the English text and the way in which many omissions were marked by Bishop suggests that the translation was complete and already incorporated the relevant alterations by the time the score was assembled. The text to most bars and pages deleted in the French score had not normally been translated into English.

Unlike the playhouse, London's Italian opera house had traditionally employed one or more house poets, who supplied the majority of translations and new libretti. During the late 18th century, when the repertory comprised both commissioned and imported operas, the poet's duties were comparable to those of librettists associated with the patent theatres.[41] By the 1820s, however, Ebers considered this post virtually superfluous, as his company relied almost entirely on imported Italian operas; the house poet was therefore presumably confined largely to providing English translations for the published libretti.[42] With the introduction of French and German operas at the Royal Italian Opera during the late 1840s, however, the duties of the librettist once again expanded. In addition to the English texts, Italian translations as well as new recitatives for opéras comiques and German operas now had to be supplied, and with this the house poet once again became integral to the smooth running of the opera house.

Manfredo Maggioni, 'Professor of the Italian Language' at the Royal Academy of Music, was employed as 'Poet and Translator of the Libretti' at the Royal Italian Opera from 1847.[43] He provided new Italian translations (where necessary) for almost the entire repertory and also

wrote most of the new recitatives required for German and French works, such as Faust (1852) and L'étoile du nord (1855). All bilingual libretti and much of the music printed for the Royal Italian Opera, including publications of Italian works, credited Maggioni with the translations. Yet Gye only refers to him in the context of providing Italian texts and does not mention Maggioni's involvement in writing the English translations.[44] This may reflect Gye's primary concern with commissioning a performance text and does not necessarily call Maggioni's authorship of the English version into question. Maggioni is the only librettist to whom regular payments are recorded in both the Coutts ledgers and Gye's diaries. Moreover, no second author is ever listed in any of the Royal Italian Opera libretti in which Maggioni was involved; the English translations used in the vocal scores published for L'étoile du nord and Les Huguenots were especially commissioned for these publications from other writers and were not used in the libretti.[45] Just two new translations can with certainty be attributed to other librettists: Benvenuto Cellini was translated by J.Nicodemo; the Italian text to La Juive was provided by P.Giannone and the English translation by J.W.Tibbert.[46] In the absence of any further evidence, most English translations might therefore tentatively be ascribed to Maggioni.

Maggioni appears not to have received a regular salary, but was instead paid a fixed sum per opera. In 1851, Gye agreed to pay him '£35 for translating the Enfant Prodigue into Italian the copyright belonging to me'.[47] From 1848 onwards, Maggioni supplied two to three new translations per season, for which he probably received fees comparable to that for L'enfant; on average, two payments per season of similarly high sums are recorded in the Coutts ledgers of 1851 to 1855. Before

1850, the copyright to these translations appears to have remained with Maggioni. Following an agreement in 1850, Maggioni resigned his rights to Gye.[48]

Although the Royal Italian Opera employed a house poet, several libretti for Italian operas used during the first four seasons seem to have been drawn from earlier productions at the rival opera house. The English translations as well as all structural alterations introduced to the works are identical. The 1847 libretto of Il barbiere was a reprint of the 1818 King's Theatre edition.[49] The 1850 libretto of Nabucco (entitled Anato) was based on an earlier text published for Her Majesty's (there produced as Nino), with only the title of the work, and the names of the characters and places changed in the list of dramatis personae.[50] The 1847 libretto of La donna del lago included an advertisement stating that 'The Libretti are edited and newly translated by Manfredo Maggioni'; the text for this production was nonetheless essentially an amalgam of two King's Theatre publications dating from 1823 and 1829 to which two new scenes had been added.[51] These libretti were presumably used in order to reduce expenditure. Commissioning a complete set of new libretti for the entire repertory would have been unfeasible during the theatre's first season. Perhaps surprisingly, no copyright disputes are known to have developed as a result of using the earlier publications, even though they were not acknowledged. Several reasons may account for this. Libretti written more than seven years prior to the passing of the 1833 Dramatic Copyright Act were not legally protected and hence could be utilised freely. Moreover, authors commonly sold off the copyright to their works to publishers who could transfer these rights still further.[52] In the case of the libretto to Nabucco it seems conceivable that Maggioni was engaged at Her Majesty's

before 1847 and was himself responsible for the original English translation: copyright issues would therefore not have arisen.[53]

As at the playhouse, the responsibility for the musical alterations usually lay with the house composer of the Royal Italian Opera. London's Italian opera house had some time since abandoned the 18th-century practice of employing distinguished foreign house composers. With the emphasis on the presentation of adaptations, the opera house now required what was essentially a conductor and music director capable of arranging existing works, rather than a prominent composer.[54] Michael Costa, usually referred to in libretti and playbills as 'Composer, Music Director and Conductor' of the Royal Italian Opera, was almost certainly entrusted with the majority of this work. The only productions in which Costa appears to have been less directly involved in the alteration process were those attended by the composers themselves. Both Spohr and Berlioz made all necessary changes to their operas, superintended rehearsals and directed the first performances. In these instances Costa's responsibilities were probably limited to taking the initial orchestral rehearsals and coaching sessions with the singers, as well as conducting the remaining performances once the composer had left London.

Meyerbeer, too, maintained control over stagings of his works at the Royal Italian Opera by supplying most alterations and supervising rehearsals of two productions, L'étoile du nord in 1855 and Dinorah in 1859. Costa, however, conducted all of Meyerbeer's operas and was therefore also more closely involved in their preparation for the London stage. Gruneisen, always keen to raise the conductor's profile still higher, claimed that Meyerbeer had entrusted the execution of the entire adaptation of Les Huguenots in 1848 to Costa.

> no higher compliment could have been paid to the judgment and discretion of Costa, than the carte blanche given to him by Meyerbeer, to deal with the Huguenots as he deemed fit, and to use his own discretion as to the "cuts".[55]

Given Meyerbeer's attention to matters of casting as well as the fact that several extensive amendments were commissioned from him, it seems questionable whether he indeed relied entirely on Costa's prudence. All alterations were apparently based on the authorised production of the opera in Berlin in 1842, although many can also be traced back to the variants suggested by Meyerbeer in the full score published in 1836 (Table 9, pp.328-29).[56] Meyerbeer may accordingly have given Costa the requisite instructions to complete the adaptation in accordance with the printed full score as well as previous productions of Les Huguenots.

Few complete scores were published for opera house presentations and even where these are extant they do not always provide a reliable source for establishing the details of particular stagings. The first complete vocal score published for any Royal Italian Opera production was Les Huguenots in 1848. Another edition of this score, with Italian and English texts differing substantially from the 1848 printed libretto and vocal score, was used for most subsequent productions, as the heavily annotated prompter's copy extant in the Archives of the Royal Opera House suggests.[57] Whether the original 1848 publication was utilised for the premiere is uncertain since no comparable performance score seems to have been preserved.[58] A further vocal score was published for L'étoile du nord, albeit only in 1856, one year after the Royal Italian Opera production. Although relatively faithful to the actual performance in terms of structure, this score is inherently unreliable with regard to the more detailed alterations carried out by Meyerbeer and moreover reproduces a variant English translation. The Italian translation by Maggioni corresponds largely with the printed libretto.

The English text by Henry Chorley, however, is a straightforward translation of the opéra comique and was used for this publication only.[59]

The immense collection of manuscript and printed performance material held at the Archives of the Royal Opera House suggests that adaptations for the opera house were prepared in a manner comparable to playhouse procedures. Much of the musical material, including full scores and orchestral parts, was probably imported from Continental publishers and adapted for the use of the Royal Italian Opera orchestra and company by opera house staff and musicians. For L'étoile du nord the printed full score was probably acquired directly from Meyerbeer's publisher Brandus.[60] Into this score were inserted in manuscript the new recitatives; whether this process was completed by copyists of the Royal Italian Opera or in Paris is unclear.[61] Several of the singers' names who appeared in the 1855 production, as well as omissions and other alterations were marked by house copyists or perhaps Costa.[62] The most important corrections, which concerned principally the new recitatives, were made by Meyerbeer himself, presumably during rehearsals.[63] Orchestral parts appear also regularly to have been imported; near to complete printed French parts survive, for example, for L'étoile du nord and Les Huguenots.[64] As was common practice, both full scores and orchestral parts were used for most subsequent productions, some as late as the 1920s. Reconstructing the first productions is therefore often difficult, since many of the original annotations and alterations have been obscured or entirely obliterated by numerous layers of later revisions.

The unique sources surviving for the ballet music of the 1848 production of Les Huguenots suggest that manuscripts required for

extensive alterations were occasionally obtained from the original composer. Meyerbeer did not personally attend rehearsals or any of the performances in 1848. Instead he supplied the theatre with two scores which contained his alterations for two of the four original ballets.[65] The first, a manuscript full score for a new Danse bohémienne to replace the original no.16 (Table 9, pp.328-29), suggests a link between the London production and a German production - possibly that of Berlin in 1842, for which the Danse bohémienne is known to have been altered and which apparently formed the basis of the London alterations.[66] Meyerbeer marked the manuscript to be inserted in Act III of Les Huguenots, added a line for the bass drum and cymbals, and made numerous performance markings throughout. Moreover, he provided French translations and alternatives for many of the instrument designations which were originally in Italian and German. Yet an examination of the orchestral parts suggests that this new ballet was performed only in part. The third movement, an Andantino quasi allegretto, was included in a much abbreviated version of the original Dance bohémienne which is extant in a French manuscript full score and was copied into several orchestral parts.[67] The Andantino, together with a further three short dance movements (just two of which were performed), replaced the original two middle movements; only the two opening movements as well as the coda of the original ballet were performed.[68] Meyerbeer also supplied the Royal Italian Opera with a short autograph manuscript, headed 'Entreacte & Ritournelle nouvelle', in which he provided a new close to the Act V entr'acte which allowed the following ballet (no.25) to be omitted.[69] Referring to the specific page number of the printed full score of 1836, Meyerbeer directed the performers to play the first 28 bars of the original entr'acte, then to

proceed with the new music provided in the manuscript, and finally, to omit the following Air for Raoul (no.26); the entr'acte was thus to lead straight into the recitative and trio of no.27. Although the evidence from the printed libretto and vocal score is inconclusive, an analysis of the orchestral parts clearly indicates that this significant alteration was performed. Most parts show remains of pasting for an alternative end to the entr'acte and the omission of the ballet and air; the actual alterations were at some stage removed and are now preserved separately. Moreover, complete manuscript copies of these amendments are still extant in the ophicleide part and one of the viola parts.[70]

4) Translations

In accordance with the differing repertories and performance traditions, translations for the opera house and the playhouse at Covent Garden were necessarily distinct. English translations prepared for the Theatre Royal during the 1830s were based on a combination of prose for the spoken dialogue and verse for the recitatives, arias and ensembles. Much importance was attached to the poetic character and formal construction of these translations, and while most authors endeavoured to provide a quasi-literal translation, this was readily sacrificed in the interest of a coherent poetic and dramatic structure. The resulting libretti were nevertheless seldom of more than adequate literary quality. Moreover, they regularly required numerous changes to vocal parts in order to accommodate the altered verse pattern. These modifications were often confined to minor variations of the rhythm, but could also result in the creation of virtually new music - the distinction between the two was not always clear-cut. Examples 1 and 2 set out excerpts from Gustavus, translated by Planché and arranged by Cooke, and The

Night before the Wedding... (Les deux nuits), as adapted by Fitzball and Bishop, which illustrates these procedures. Such practices were not necessarily the sign of a poor translation, but rather an indication of the attitude of both the translator and composer towards the original libretto. The aim was not to provide an English replica of the "original" opera, but rather a new version which took account of the company's capabilities and its audience's expectations.

Nevertheless, with the increasing demands for adaptations to follow the original work more closely, a number of authors endeavoured to change the methods of translations. In an effort to retain as much of the original melodic lines as possible, attempts were made to create translations more faithful to the original linguistic structure (Example 3). Literary precision was now a secondary consideration and a certain awkwardness of style was frequently also unavoidable, but these drawbacks seemed acceptable in return for greater musical accuracy.

> In Adapting "LA DONNA DEL LAGO" to the English Stage, THE ACCENT OF THE ORIGINAL MUSIC HAS BEEN INVARIABLY PRESERVED - an advantage, which it is hoped will be considered an apology for many rugged and unmetrical lines in the present libretto.[71]

Planché ventured even further:

> It will not perhaps be deemed an unpardonable innovation to have written Words to Music regardless of Rhyme, except when the ear seemed absolutely to demand it... as the true expression of the notes is of much more importance than the mere jingle of the syllables in any such composition.

Similar efforts were made to provide literal English translations during the brief seasons given by a touring German company under Bunn's management at Drury Lane in 1841 and at Covent Garden in 1842. Here, the word-for-word correspondence between the German text and its English translation also served a practical purpose, namely to facilitate the reading of the libretti during performances and to enable

'any one to keep company with the Singers, without any knowledge whatever of the German language'.[72] The execrable quality of these translations, which often bordered on the nonsensical, went largely unnoticed in the general approval of this novel scheme. Two incipits from Die Zauberflöte might serve as examples of both the benefits and problems associated with these translations:

II,viii	
Arie	Der Hölle Rache kocht in meinem Herzen,
(Königin)	Of hell the vengeance boils within my heart;
II,xxi	
Terzetto	
(Pamina	Soll ich dich Theurer nicht mehr sehn?
	Shall I, dear one, no more see thee?
Sarastro	Ihr werdet froh euch wiedersehn.
	You in joy will meet again.
Sarastro,	Die Götter werden mich ihm bewahren,
Tamino)	The gods will me him preserve,

Translations for the Royal Italian Opera served the dual purpose of providing an Italian performance text for German and French operas as well as an English version which enabled the audience to comprehend the proceedings on stage. Both the Italian and English texts were in verse throughout. The style of Maggioni's translations suggests that he was concerned with providing an Italian version which would necessitate few alterations to the vocal lines, as he usually endeavoured to preserve as much as possible of the original verse structure; the following incipits from Les Huguenots provide an example of Maggioni's French, Italian and English translations:[73]

No.10 Duo/Duetto	
Raoul	Beauté divine, enchantresse,
	Beltà divina, incantatrice
	Beauty divine, thou fair enchantress,
Marguerite	Ah! de l'objet de sa tendresse
	Ah, della sua ardente brama
	Ah, yes, of her most ardent wish

Changes to the vocal parts were accordingly limited to minor rhythmic alterations of single notes. The English translations were quasi-literal,

thus allowing audiences to follow the singers almost word for word. These translations were coherent and, though not of especial literary value, were well constructed and very rarely awkward in style.[74]

5) Adaptations

In addition to the translation into English, the adaptation of foreign operas for the playhouse at Covent Garden usually involved the extensive reorganisation, abridgment and even rewriting of the original work. Complicated ensembles and arias were simplified or omitted; recitatives and spoken dialogue were curtailed; morally or politically sensitive issues within the plot or individual characters were either cut or suitably adapted; and new scenes or individual numbers were inserted. At the Royal Italian Opera, the translation of foreign works into Italian (where necessary) was also regularly accompanied by structural alterations, albeit on a lesser scale than at the playhouse: scenes or individual numbers were omitted, curtailed or re-arranged, subplots simplified or cut, recitatives shortened, substitute arias inserted and new recitatives commissioned to replace original spoken dialogue.

The reasons for adapting foreign operas were both practical and artistic. To contain the various entertainments offered on any one night within the normal duration of an evening's performance, cuts to lengthy operas and plays were routinely made at both the playhouse and the opera house.[75] Even when only one work was performed, as happened frequently at the Royal Italian Opera, the running time had to be kept within certain limits, as audiences understandably grew restless when detained at the theatre much beyond midnight.

> [Pietro il grande] was dreadfully long playing 5 1/4 hours!!... the people got dreadfully impatient - had Jullien listened to the advice of all his friends, singers &c & cut 2 hours off this opera he would have had great success.[76]

A number of libretti held at the Archives of the Royal Opera House contain pencil markings, probably made during the 1860s and 1870s, which indicate the duration of individual acts and works; these suggest that operas very rarely ran for more than three hours, not counting the interval. This evidence coincides with estimates of running times for adaptations of operas such as Les Huguenots in which the length of the original work was reduced from four to about three hours.

Yet operas were not merely cut to conform to the overall structure of the opera or playhouse programme. Moral concerns over the suitability of particular subjects for the stage, the company's formation and singers' capabilities, as well as the audience's expectations regarding the musical structure of operas were at least as important in influencing the final form of individual productions.

The ethical standards imposed on operas manifested themselves in the simple renaming of characters or operas as well as the extensive modification of story lines which might otherwise have offended the religious, moral or political sensitivities of the audience in general and the Lord Chamberlain in particular. Managers were presumably concerned not merely with the moral standards exhibited on stage, but also had to consider the effect of the presentations on the audience's behaviour. They could clearly ill afford clamorous disapproval or even riots which an apparently offensive word, sentence or scene might provoke. A letter by Rophino Lacy to the treasurer of the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, concerning a military spectacle based on the life of Napoleon, gives some indication of the sense of apprehension with which both managers and authors approached certain subjects.

> I confess I cannot see the anti-nationality you mention. I consider the body of the English Public too liberal to sicken at a bright portrait of a great and extraordinary man because the Hero isn't an Englishman... the part you allude to as somewhat awkward for London, exhibits Napoleon only as a forsaken Husband and Father dying in Exile. The situation is affecting... and should the License be granted and you accept the Piece, I shall regret for your own sakes that St.Helena which is the most effective part of all should be omitted...[77]

At the playhouse, such deliberations could result in the complete remodelling of an opera or indeed drama.

This is most drastically exemplified in the 1833 production of Auber's Gustavus the Third. To avoid having to portray the king 'of all men in the world, entertain a criminal passion for Madame Ankarstrom', a new character, Colonel Lillienhorn, was introduced, to whom were assigned both the ill-fated attachment and much of the original music for Gustavus. Similarly, Ankarstrom, who eventually assassinates the king, was placed 'in his proper situation as an ex-captain of the guards, instead of exhibiting him... [as] the prime minister and bosom friend of Gustavus!'.[78] The combined horrors of adultery, betrayal and murder of the king, and disloyalty to a friend would probably have upset the audience severely and would almost certainly not have passed the censor; wide-ranging alterations were therefore unavoidable. Most immediately, these affected the part of Gustavus which was transformed into a speaking part.[79] Four of the numbers originally allocated to the king were transferred to Lillienhorn who thereby became the leading male protagonist (Table 6, p.316). Lillienhorn was sung by Templeton, the company's principal tenor; the title role, on the other hand, a part taken by Adolphe Nourrit at the Opéra, was played by the actor James Warde. Gustavus's brief entry in the air and chorus (no.5) was probably omitted, and his part in the following air and chorus (no.7) assigned to one of the conspirators. Four other numbers previously

sung by Gustavus were cut entirely: nos. 6 (trio), 8 (scène et morceau d'ensemble), 11 (duo) and 12 (trio).

Alterations introduced on moral grounds to operas for Royal Italian Opera productions appear to have been far more limited. Nabucco, for example, was presented almost unaltered in a version previously staged at Her Majesty's as Nino and renamed Anato for the Royal Italian Opera.[80] All place and character names were changed so as to eliminate any biblical references and the opera turned into a tale of Babylonian uprising against Assyrian domination.[81] Operas were evidently prepared carefully before their submission to the Lord Chamberlain, for very few libretti have so far been identified in which apparently offensive words or sentences were corrected by the censor. In the Lord Chamberlain's copy of Benvenuto Cellini three lines in II,iii, together with the corresponding English translation, were marked for omission; within the raucous confines of an inn, these words were presumably considered blasphemous:[82]

Dell'ultimo giudizio	The trumpets
Le trombe no, non sono	Of the last day,
Terribili cosi	Will not be so terrible

For the production of Les Huguenots, on the other hand, the Lord Chamberlain's intervention was probably preempted. What was considered the most distasteful and horrifying scene, the murder of the main protagonists on stage, was simply omitted in the 1848 production (Table 9, pp.328-29); this alteration was also carried out for other stagings of Les Huguenots across Europe. The last scene was, however, reinstated some time after 1850, when resubmission to the censor's office was not necessary.[83]

Like the organisation of the repertory as a whole, individual productions and their preparation for the London stage were influenced

by the companies' formation. For productions at the playhouse, roles originally assigned to singers were not infrequently either transformed into speaking parts or significantly curtailed when no suitable singers were available. Such drastic measures were usually confined to minor parts and therefore had little effect on storylines. The music previously allocated to them was cut or transferred to other characters. Examples of this procedure can be found in Bishop's The Night before the Wedding... and the 1835 production of Fidelio. As part of the changes introduced to The Night before the Wedding..., one of the three tenors, originally without any solos, was assigned two songs. The opera would now have required three principal tenors which Covent Garden at the time did not have. Consequently, the relatively minor role of Victor was transposed from a tenor to a bass part and his complex air et cavatine in Act I probably omitted.[84] The latter alteration may have been required because of the weakness of the bass J.Russell; his part in the revival of John of Paris that same season seems also to have been curtailed.[85] In Fidelio the minister Fernando was apparently transformed into a speaking part, as the alterations to the only musical number in which he appears, the finale to Act III, suggest. Cooke, the music director, allocated some of the original music in this number to Leonora and Rocco, but chose to omit the part of Fernando entirely in the closing chorus and ensemble.[86] These alterations were made necessary, because Bunn's company presumably lacked a suitable third bass.

As was standard practice at opera houses both in London and the Continent, vocal parts were also altered and substitute arias introduced to accommodate individual singers' capabilities. The manuscript score of The Night before the Wedding... includes numerous changes to the original melodies; some were introduced in order to avoid especially high

notes, others provided alternative ornaments (Example 4). Bishop seldom notated these variants as outright replacements of the original lines, but instead copied them as alternatives in another staff. Piano-vocal scores published for playhouse and opera house productions frequently included comparable amendments ascribed to specific artists. Notwithstanding such attributions, these variants may not always reflect a particular performance but might instead have been included for amateur singers, as they usually provide simplified vocal parts (Example 3). Similarly, arias and ensembles were frequently transposed for publication. Two of Lilienhorn's solos in Gustavus, for example, "I love her! How I love her!" (I,ii; Example 1) and "Love, I abjure thee" (III,i), were printed in transpositions, down a minor third from B flat major to G major. It seems unlikely, however, that these alterations reflected changes made for performances at Covent Garden as Templeton, who sang the part of Lilienhorn, was renowned for the beauty and strength of his upper register.[87] More probably, the songs were transposed for the amateur singers for whom these publications were primarily intended.

Occasionally, vocal lines were altered to include higher notes - these are more likely to have been inserted at the request of individual artists who wished to demonstrate their abilities. Such amendments, as well as the addition of ornaments, were as common in London as at Continental opera houses, but were seldom recorded in full in the published scores. A rare example can be found in the published piano vocal score of the 1848 Les Huguenots production. A brief phrase for the Conte di St.Bris, sung by Tamburini, in the Act III congiura e benedizione de'pugnali included a striking alteration (Example 5): two large jumps at the beginning and end of the phrase, which were

awkward to sing, were eliminated and replaced by a continuous descending line which allowed Tamburini to display a high 'e'.

At the Royal Italian Opera, most minor changes were probably completed by Costa, frequently at the instigation or indeed with the assistance of the singers themselves. Mario, for example, was apparently responsible for unspecified alterations to the quartet in Act II of Le prophète in 1849; four years later, Meyerbeer asked Gye 'to restore the quartette... which he said Mario had altered very much'.[88] Where more extensive rewriting was required, however, the original composer of the opera was approached.[89] One of the most prominent examples concerns the role of the page Urbain in Les Huguenots. Originally written for a soprano, Meyerbeer transposed it for the contralto Marietta Alboni in 1848. Based in part on similar alterations undertaken for the 1842 Berlin production, Meyerbeer now extended the part further by adding a new rondeau du page in I,ix.[90] Adjustments of this nature were not intended as lasting revisions, but could be in turn omitted, amended or replaced when casts changed during subsequent revivals. The additional aria for Urbain may have been cut for revivals during the 1870s, as the music was removed from orchestral parts and other performance material in 1871.[91] For the 1864 revival of L'étoile du nord Meyerbeer agreed to alter the part of Catherine for the soprano Pauline Lucca.[92] In a prompter's manuscript vocal score, probably copied after 1858 and preserved in the Archives of the Royal Opera House, this role is heavily annotated in what is almost certainly Meyerbeer's hand. The alterations include a substitute cadenza for the rondo in Act I, as well as several other amendments to accommodate Lucca's distinctive vocal qualities.[93]

Evidence suggests that the practice of substituting arias, though

common, was not as widespread during the mid-19th century as it had been during the 18th and early 19th century.[94] Given the extent to which operas were adapted at the playhouse, it is often difficult to establish whether arias were introduced at the specific request of a singer, or because structural modifications required new music. Bishop's adaptations of Boieldieu's Jean de Paris (1814, revived 1830) and Les deux nuits comprised a comprehensive redistribution of roles and musical numbers. In both operas, several new arias were inserted for the principal singers of the Covent Garden company. These substitutions were in part due to the structural changes which Bishop and his librettists wanted to incorporate and which involved amplifying the musical importance of the lead roles. Yet equally the dearth of solo numbers in the original opéras comiques would conceivably have prompted singers such as John Duruset, Catherine Stephens, Joseph Wood and Harriet Cawse to demand additional arias.[95]

Substitutions in Royal Italian Opera productions are also hard to identify, as they were not always included in the published libretti and scores. The music lesson scene in Act II of Il barbiere was an obvious place to make such an insertion, but the aria used was only infrequently printed in the libretto; in 1854 Bosio simply sang 'some air chosen for the occasion'.[96] Even where substitute arias were published, the composer was very rarely acknowledged. The 1847 production of La donna del lago may have included up to three substitute arias.[97] "Perchè mai le luci aprimmo", though not identified as such in the libretto, was originally composed by Rossini for Aureliano in Palmira and was included, possibly by the composer himself, in the 1824 staging of that opera at the Théâtre Italien. It was sung by Alboni in Act I of the Royal Italian Opera production.[98] Mario may have introduced "Pace non

trovo, oh ciel!... Tu sorda a'miei lamenti" from Ermione in II,iii; this aria had originally been inserted by Rubini for the Paris production of 1825, a detail again omitted from the Royal Italian Opera libretto.[99] The origins of the third aria, "Dal ferro, dal foco... Sorgete, in si bel giorno", possibly interpolated by Bettini in I,xi, remain unknown.

As already discussed in chapter five, English audiences appeared to favour simple vocal lines and uncomplicated formal structures, and recitatives were deemed boring by many.[100] These preferences affected productions of foreign operas as much as those of original English works. In foreign operas produced at the Theatre Royal complicated ensembles and arias were simplified, omitted or replaced and recitatives and spoken dialogue curtailed. One example of such modifications is the 1833 production of Gustavus. In addition to the alterations resulting from the cast change, as discussed above, several structural amendments were made both to the overall design of the opera and individual numbers; moderate changes to vocal lines to accommodate the English translation were probably made in most numbers. Table 6 (p.316) gives a tentative reconstruction of the opera as produced at Covent Garden as well as the relation of individual numbers to the original work.

Many of the most significant changes to the musical structure of Gustavus reveal conspicuous parallels with contemporary English operas. Gustavus was reduced from five to three acts: Acts I and II of the original opera were combined as Act I, and Acts III, IV and V were merged into Acts II and III. This was achieved principally by the omission of five ensemble numbers, as well as parts of the extensive ballet music. The longest and most complex ensembles were thereby confined principally to the opening and closing scenes of each act, a

Table 6.

CG, 1833[101]		Source[102]
I,i	Introduction	No.1
	Song	No.4 **(altered to avoid high notes)**
	Chorus	No.2/Ensemble
I,ii	Song	No.2 **(cast change: Gustave >> Lillienhorn)**
	Recit. and Duo	No.3 **(cast change: Gustave >> Lillienhorn)**
I,iii	Air and Chorus	No.5 **(Entr'acte and Gustave's part omitted)**
	Air and Chorus	No.7/Ronde **(Choeur omitted; cast change: Gustave >> Ribbing)**
	Finale	No.9 **(Choeur des Gens and Ensemble omitted)**
II,i	Recit./ Air	No.10/Andantino **(curtailed; structure simplified)**
	Concerted Piece (Recitative, Solo, Chorus, Recitative Ensemble, Morceau d'Ensemble)	No.13
II,ii	spoken dialogue	
II,iii	Scena (Rec./Air)	**'The Subject from the Overture, and Arranged by T.Cooke'**
	Recit./Trio	No.15
	Finale	No.16 **(possibly some cuts)**
III,i	Scena (Rec./Air)	No.17 **(curtailed; partially rewritten; cast change: Gustave >> Lillienhorn)**
III,ii	Chorus and Morceau d'Ensemble	No.18
	Dance	1.Air de Danse
	Song	No.19/Couplets **(possibly new orchestral introduction)**
	Danse des Follies	2. Air de Danse
	Figure Dance and	3. Air de Danse (possibly also 1./2. Marches)
	Galopade	4. Air de Danse
	Finale (Chorus, **Solo, Ensemble)**	No.19 **(cast change in solo: Gustave >> Lillienhorn)**

Nos. 6 (Trio), 8 (Scène et Morceau d'Ensemble), 11 (Duo), 12 (Trio), 14 (Duo et Cavatine) and Ballet in act I omitted entirely.

format familiar from current English operas. As many as five numbers may have been curtailed. The simplified forms which frequently resulted from these amendments also closely resemble the patterns employed in English works. The air in II,i for Amilie was based on the air no.10, in III,i of the original opera. Cooke appears to have transformed the through-composed number into a strophic song by repeating the music to the opening Andantino for the second verse and omitting the remainder of the air. The piano vocal score publication of the act II finale (no.16) suggests, that many of the more complex ensemble sections in this piece may have been cut, leading to both a comprehensive reduction in length and a simplification of structure. The printed piano vocal score of Cooke's arrangement of the scena in III,i indicates similar alterations for this number; here, repeats of melodic material replaced the original, more extensive contrasting sections. Cooke's preference for uncomplicated forms is also evident in his own scena, inserted in II,iii, in which he used the opening four-bar phrase of the overture to create another strophic song with refrain.

These types of alterations could evidently result in a complete reshaping of the original opera - a outcome deemed totally unacceptable by today's performance practices. Yet it is important to assess such adaptations not only through comparison with the original work, but also on their own artistic and dramatic merits. Productions such as Gustavus veered substantially from the original opera. The result was nevertheless a coherent operatic work which evidently held great appeal for contemporary audiences. Even adaptations such as Rophino Lacy's Cinderella, which now seem to distort the original opera almost beyond recognition, in fact often worked well as theatrical spectacles.

As with Gustavus, the alterations to Rossini's La cenerentola went

far beyond the introduction of substitute arias and simple modifications of vocal lines. In his 1830 production of Cinderella; or, The Fairy Queen and the Glass Slipper Lacy instead created a virtually new work in the tradition of the pasticcio. Lacy, who appears to have been responsible for the translation as well as the dramatic and musical adaptation, substantially modified the libretto to create a story much closer to the fairy tale. This allowed him to transform the opera into a spectacle in which fairies, transformation scenes and magic greatly heightened the visual and theatrical appeal of the work. To this end, the Fairy Queen was introduced as another principal singing part, supported by large numbers of supernumaries. The opera was expanded from two to three acts - the standard length of most contemporary English operas - although its running time was probably not lengthened significantly as many numbers were curtailed and the majority of the recitatives were either omitted entirely or converted into spoken dialogue.

The music for this altered drama was drawn from a number of sources. Unlike Bishop or Cooke, who appear generally to have composed most substitute music themselves, Lacy introduced much additional music from three other Rossini operas, Guillaume Tell, Maometto II, and Armida; very little, if any, of the required supplementary music appears to have been written by Lacy (Table 7, p.319). No complete score of Cinderella has apparently survived and identification of the exact substitutions and alterations is accordingly difficult. For those scenes in which the plot remained largely unaltered, Lacy used the appropriate music from La cenerentola; only the two original finales were shortened (II,ii and III,v) and few changes to the vocal lines were apparently necessary to accommodate the English translation. A comparison of the libretto with the scores to Armida,

Table 7.

Cinderella[103]		Source/Opera[104]
	Overture	Cenerentola?[105]
I,i	Chorus of Fairies	Armida, II: Coro di ninfe, from no.12
	Air and Chorus	ditto, II: Ballo e Rondo Finale Secondo, no.13, chorus adapted for female voices, Ballo omitted
	Song	ditto, I: Aria, no.5, **recitative and Coro omitted, adapted for English translation**
	Concerted Piece	ditto, I: Aria, no.2, **music to lines 1-4?**
I,ii	Chorus	Guillaume Tell, II: Choeur, no.8, **adapted for English translation**
	Chorus	Lacy (or Tell)?
I,iii	Trio	Cenerentola I: Introduzione
	Quartet	(continued)
	Concerted Piece and Chorus	(continued)
	Song	ditto, I: Cavatina
	Recit., Duet and Dialogued[sic] Duet	ditto, I: Duetto
	Concerted Piece	ditto, I: Quintetto
	Quintet	(continued)
	Stretto Finale	(continued)
II,i	spoken dialogue	
II,ii	Dialogued Quartet	ditto, I: Finale, **Vivace only**
	Comic Duet	ditto, II: Duetto
II,iii	spoken dialogue	
II,iv	Fairy Chorus	Tell, I: Choeur, no.3, **recitative omitted, adapted for chorus only, ie. ensemble omitted**
	Incidental music	Lacy? (transformation scene)
II,v	Finale	Maometto II, II: Scena e Coro?, **adapted for English translation**
III,i	Chorus and Dance	ditto, II: Ballabile or Ballabile e Coro?, **adapted for English translation**
	Tyrolienne, Pas Trois and Chorus	Tell, III: Pas de Trois et Choeur, no.15, **chorus repeat omitted**
	Duet	ditto, II: Duo, no.10, **Andantino only**
	Pas de Soldats	ditto, III, Pas de Soldats
	General Waltz	(continued)
	[Song]	In censor's libretto only Lacy or Maometto II, III: Preghiera, **chorus omitted**
	Air and Chorus	Maometto II (unidentified)
	Chorus	Lacy (or Maometto II)?
III,ii	[Song]	In censor's libretto only Lacy or Cenerentola, II: Aria, **adapted for English translation**
III,iii	spoken dialogue	
III,iv	[Incidental music]	In censor's libretto only, Lacy?
	[Song and Chorus]	ditto
III,v	Finale	Cenerentola, II: Finale, **"Non piu mesta" only**

Maometto II and Guillaume Tell suggests, that the excerpts from these operas were by contrast cut substantially. Furthermore, extensive alterations to the vocal lines would have been required to match them to the new English words and the modified storyline. Lacy's possible contributions appear to have been limited to the composition of two choruses and songs, as well as some incidental music; the latter might with greatest certainty be attributed to him, as this was a musical device commonly employed in English opera and melodrama with which Lacy was of course very familiar.

Lacy was evidently not engaged in providing a faithful English version of Rossini's La cenerentola, but rather used this opera as the basis for a new operatic spectacle. The excerpts from La cenerentola were selected in accordance with the plot, not their particular position with the original work. Most strikingly, Lacy used part of the Act I finale in the second scene of Act II of his adaptation. The substantial abbreviation of this number was presumably necessary to restore the balance between the dramatic intensity previously conveyed in this ensemble and its new position within the opera. Lacy apparently overcame the stylistic and generic diversity of the operas now combined in a single work by using extended excerpts and interjecting scene changes and spoken dialogue when moving from one opera to the other.[106] The shift from Armida in I,i to Guillaume Tell in I,ii is marked by the exit of the fairies and the entry of the Royal hunting party; the following scene change to Don Magnifico's (now Baron Pumpelino's) castle in I,iii introduces the music from La cenerentola. The two transformation scenes in II,iii and iv similarly separate numbers from different operas. Only the lengthy ball scene which opens the third act appears to have combined music from two distinct operas without any

obvious attempt to separate the numbers; this was presumably deemed unnecessary since the one insertion from Guillaume Tell merely extended the ballet. Yet the juxtaposition of the two operas in this scene was to draw one of the very few negative comments from the otherwise highly favourable critics:

> There is a very striking instance... in the Ball-scene..., where a dance of soldiers is introduced, and a Swiss air, both of them wholly unsuited to Naples and the fairies.[107]

Alterations of operas presented at the Royal Italian Opera were confined not only to those which had to be translated into Italian, but to a lesser extent also affected works originally written in Italian. Many Italian works were modified only slightly, for example through the introduction of substitute arias and the adjustment of vocal lines to singers' abilities. The treatment of Verdi's operas in particular seems remarkable. The extant libretti suggest that works such as Rigoletto and Il trovatore were presented without any major structural alterations or omissions. Opéras comiques and German operas, too, appear not to have been changed radically apart from the obvious transformation of the spoken dialogue into recitative. Grands opéras, however, included long and complex ensembles as well as lengthy incidental ballets, which were frequently either omitted entirely or heavily curtailed. One might speculate that these revisions were made not merely because of the necessary time constraints or other practical considerations, but also because they did not appeal to audiences used to the comparative structural simplicity of Italian operas previously presented at London's opera houses.[108]

Few contemporary libretti appear to have survived for productions of German operas at the Royal Italian Opera during the 1850s. Nonetheless, publications for stagings of operas such as Fidelio

and Freischütz during the late 1860s and early 1870s suggest that few scenes were curtailed. The revisions made by Spohr for Faust and by Meyerbeer for L'étoile du nord, the only opéra comique performed at the Royal Italian Opera until the mid 1850s, illustrate the limited alterations needed to arrange operas with spoken dialogue for the Italian opera house in London. Both composers confined their amendments principally to the substitution of spoken dialogue with recitative and the addition of a few arias, most of which had already been inserted in previous productions of these operas. This conservative approach may in part reflect the fact that the original composers were working on these operas. Evidence suggests, however, that comparable operas adapted in-house were not altered any more extensively. Indeed a review of L'étoile du nord suggests that these modifications were all that was required to fit such works 'to the exigencies of the Italian stage'.[109]

The most important revision Spohr made to his Faust for the 1852 production was the introduction of the new recitatives. Moreover, he reorganised the scenes from two into the standard three acts, a modification which involved the composition of a new introduction to Act III but which entailed no further expansion or addition of musical material. Spohr also inserted two arias first included in the staging of Faust in Frankfurt in 1818: Faust's "E l'amore un grato fiore" in I,ii ("Liebe ist die zarte Blüthe") and Cunegonda's "Solinga io son" in II,x ("Ich bin allein"), the latter apparently introduced in 1852 at the specific request of Castellan.[110] Finally, he made minor curtailments to some scenes previously related in spoken dialogue, in order 'to impart more interest to them than they previously possessed, and to make elision [sic] of those things which from the first had displeased...'[111]

The only contemporary source apparently to have survived for

the Royal Italian Opera staging of Faust is the libretto. The autograph of the recitatives and the Act III introduction, preserved at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, cannot with any certainty be linked to this production; it includes only the German words, makes no reference to the Royal Italian Opera or the artists employed for the 1852 staging and, moreover, may not to have been used for any rehearsals of the opera as very few corrections and deletions are marked.[112] Spohr further revised Faust for the publication of a vocal score in 1854; it is this later version which has formed the basis for the recent critical edition.[113] While the opera in its final form retained the structure of the Royal Italian Opera version, the Italian translation used for the 1854 score varied considerably from the 1852 libretto, indicating possibly significant changes to the vocal lines undertaken by Spohr in the intervening years.[114]

The corroboration of the precise structure of the 1855 production of L'étoile du nord is somewhat complicated by the intermittent use of the Royal Opera House score, the principal source, until at least 1895. Apart from the new recitatives, few structural changes appear to have been made (Table 8, pp.324-25). Few alterations were made to Acts I and III of L'étoile du nord; Act II was reduced by the curtailment of three ensembles, the introduction (no.10), trio (no.12) and quintette (no.13). The latter two were originally the only lengthy ensemble numbers positioned halfway through an act, rather than in the opening scenes or the finale. Their reduction generated a more conventional format for the second act without affecting the plot. Of the three additional arias, the Polonaise in I,iii and the Arioso in III,viii had been inserted by Meyerbeer within a year of the premiere and had already been published by Schlesinger as well as Brandus in the supplement to

Table 8.[115]

Opéra Comique 1854		RIO 1855	
	Ouverture		Overture
I,i	No.1 Introduction	I,i-ii	Introduzione
	(A) Choeur		
I,ii	(B) Air		
	(C) Ensemble		
	(D) Choeur		
	(E) Suite et Fin de l'Introduction		
I,iii	spoken dialogue	I,iii	Recitative
	Polonaise (additional number)		Aria
I,iv	spoken dialogue	I,iv	Recitative
	No.1bis Mélodrame		Melodrama
I,v	spoken dialogue	I,v	Recitative
I,vi	No.2 Couplets	I,vi	Strofa I&II
	(can be transposed)		**(transposed)**
	No.3 Mélodrame		**omitted**
	No.3bis Mélodrame		**omitted**
I,vii	No.4 Air (can be replaced by spoken dialogue)	I,vii	Recit./Aria
	spoken dialogue		Recitative
I,viii	No.5 Chanson (avec Choeur)	I,viii	Song/ Chorus
	No.6 Récit./ Ronde Bohemienne	I,ix	Scène/Bohemian Rondo
I,ix	spoken dialogue	I,x	Recitative
I,x	No.7 Duo	I,xi	Duetto
I,xi	spoken dialogue		**omitted**
I,xii	spoken dialogue		**omitted**
I,xiii	No.8 Duo	I,xii	Duetto
I,xiv	No.9 Final	I,xiii	Finale
	(A) Choeur		(A & B)
	(B) Couplets		
	(C) Choeur et Ensemble; Pas Redouble	I,xiv	(C & D)
	(D) Prière et Barcarole		
II,i	No.10 Entr'acte et Introduction	II,i	[no.10]
	(A) Valse		
	(B) Récit./ Chanson		**curtailed**
	(C) Récit./ Chanson		**orchestral introduction & interlude curtailed**
II,ii	spoken dialogue	II,ii	Recitative
II,iii	spoken dialogue	II,iii	**Recit./Aria (new?)**
II,iv	spoken dialogue	II,iv	Recitative
II,v	No.11 Choeur	II,v	Recit./Coro
II,vi-viii	spoken dialogue	II,vi-vii	Recitative
II,ix	No.12 Récit./Trio	II,viii	Recit./Terzetto **(curtailed)**
II,x	No.13 Quintette et Sextuor	II,ix	Quintette
	(A) Chant Bachique		

	(B) Couplets (C) Scène (D) Quintette		**closing bars altered** **omitted**
II,xi	(E) Sextuor	II,x	Sextuor **(melodrame transformed into recitative)**
II,xii-xiv	spoken dialogue	II,xi-xiii	Recitative
II,xv	No.14 Finale (A) Choeur (B) Serment (C) Marche sacrée (D) Appel (E) Pas Redouble (F) Fanfare	II,xiv II,xv	Finale (A to D) (E to F)
III,i	No.15 (A) Entr'acte (B) Récit./Romance No.15bis Mélodrame	III,i	[no.15] Prelude Romanza
III,ii	spoken dialogue	III,ii	Recitative **(melodrame omitted)**
III,iii	No.16 Trio (can be replaced by spoken dialogue)	III,iii	Recit./Terzetto
III,iv	spoken dialogue	III,iv	Recitative
III,v	No.17 Couplets	III,v	Romance Recitative
III,vi	No.18 Duo	III,vi	Duetto
III,vii	spoken dialogue	III,vii	Recitative
III,viii	spoken dialogue Recit./Arioso (additional)	III,viii	**Recit. altered/** Arioso
III,ix	spoken dialogue	III,ix	Recitative
III,x-xi	No.19 Final	III,x-xii	Finale **(spoken dialogue replaced by recitative)**
III,xii	Suite du Final		

the full score.[116] The origins of the third aria "Non son uom da disprezzare" (II,iii) are uncertain. It may have been written for Lablache, who was cast as Gritzenko at the Royal Italian Opera. Neither Gye nor Meyerbeer apparently referred to such a commission. Nonetheless, contemporary commentators remarked on the fact that the part of Gritzenko was expanded for Lablache, though without making any specific mention of an additional aria or clarifying the authorship of these alterations.[117] A manuscript score, in a copyist's hand, was inserted into the performance score used at the Royal Italian Opera. The aria was also included in the published Royal Italian Opera vocal score and the contemporary variant edition of supplementary recitatives published by Brandus sometime in 1855; neither publication contains any further attribution.

The principal revisions made by Meyerbeer in L'étoile du nord were the new recitatives which replaced the original spoken dialogue and melodramas (where these were not omitted entirely).[118] These were probably composed before Meyerbeer's arrival in London, although he made further minor changes during rehearsals. Most of his annotations are still accessible in the performance score and have been preserved largely unaltered. His amendments are nevertheless not always easy to identify and can readily be confused with those made by the large number of scribes who worked on the score both during and after the composer's visit to London. Meyerbeer probably altered both the rhythm and melodic line of vocal parts in the recitatives to accommodate more fluently the Italian words and the singers' capabilities. Most, though by no means all, of these modifications were later incorporated into Chappell's vocal score. He may also have made minor corrections to some of the set numbers, although these seem to have been confined

principally to the orchestral parts. Possibly the only alterations introduced in a set number concerned the second couplet of the Act II introduction (C). Here Meyerbeer provided a new vocal line for Gritzenko which combined two variant melodies already published by Brandus.[119]

In stark contrast to the relatively moderate alterations made to Faust and L'étoile du nord, most grands opéras were modified substantially for their London production, and none apparently more so than Les Huguenots. In length and overall structure, this opera exceeded most other works performed at the Royal Italian Opera. The original five acts were therefore reduced to four, a modification not made to other grands opéras, with substantial cuts throughout. Acts I and II were merged through numerous omissions and extensive curtailments, and Acts III and V (now Acts II and IV) were also significantly compressed; only Act IV, now Act III, remained intact (Table 9, pp.328-29). The amendments concerned principally ensembles, choruses, recitatives and ballets, while solos and most smaller scale ensembles remained intact. Those set pieces requiring large numbers of soloists were either cut altogether or significantly shortened. The deletions within numbers often seemed to affect sections which were musically more intricate, either in terms of harmonic development, as in the Orgia (no.1) or in terms of part-writing, as in the morceau d'ensemble (no.5). Yet these modifications appear to have served a distinct purpose beyond the simplification of individual ensembles. Together, they resulted in a much simplified overall structure and a far greater focus on the principal soloists at the expense of the previously numerous ensembles; the latter effect was further enhanced by the omission of five minor characters (Bois-Rosé, a

Table 9.[120]

	Opéra, 1836		RIO, 1848
I,i	No.1 Overture et Introduction	I,i	Overture
I,ii	Morceau d'ensemble		**omitted**
	Entrée de Raoul		**omitted**
	Orgie		Orgia **(curtailed)**
	No.2 Scène e Romance		Scena e Romanza
I,iii	No.3 Scène et Choral	I,ii	Recitativo e Corale **(Corale curtailed)**
	No.4 Scène et Chanson huguenote		Scena e Canzonetta
I,iv	récitatif	I,iii	recitativo
I,v	No.5 Morceau d'ensemble (could be curtailed)	I,iv	Morceau d'ensemble **(curtailed more extensively than suggested in 1836 score)**
I,vi	No.6 Final		[Finale]
	(A) Choeur		**omitted**
I,vii	(B) Cavatine	I,v	Cavatina **(transposed for Alboni)**
	(C) Suite du Final		Recitativo e pezzo d'assieme
	(D) Stretta		Stretta **(transposed/altered for Alboni, orchestral postlude curtailed)**
II,i	No.7 Entr'acte et Air (air could be curtailed)	I,vi	[Entr'acte e] Aria **(curtailed more extensively than suggested in 1836 score)**
II,ii	récitatif	I,vii	recitativo **(curtailed)**
II,iii	No.8 Choeur des Baigneuses, Dansé (could be curtailed)	I,viii	Coro di Damigelle al Bagno, Ballabile **(curtailed according to 1836 score)**
II,iv	No.9 Scène du bandeau	I,ix	**replaced by new aria (Alboni)**
II,v	No.10 Récitatif et Duo	I,x	[Recitativo e] Duetto
II,vi-vii	No.11 Récit. et Entrée de la Cour (choeur could be omitted)	I,xi	Entrata della Corte **(recit. and choeur omitted, orchestral prelude retained/ expanded)**
II,viii	No.12 Final		Finale
	(A) Sermon		Giuramento
	(B) Scène		Scena
	(C) Stretta		Stretta **(curtailed)**
III,i	No.13 Entr'acte et Choeur	II,i	[Entr'acte e] Coro di Passaggeri
	No.14		
	(A) Couplets des soldats huguenots		Coro Militare di soldati Ugonotti
	(B) Litanies		Litanie
	(C) Morceau d'ensemble		[Morceau d'ensemble]

	No.15 Ronde bohémienne (could be omitted)	**omitted**
	No.16 Danse bohémienne	Danse bohémienne **(curtailed, autograph amendments)**
	Scène	II,ii [Scena]
III,ii	No.17 Couvre-feu	II,iii Couvre-feu
III,iii	No.18 Scène e Duo	II,iv-v Scena e Duetto **(Duetto curtailed)**
III,iv	No.19 Septuor du duel	II,vi Pezza a sette voci **(curtailed)**
	Scène	Scena **(curtailed)**
	No.20 Choeur de la dispute	Coro della disputa **(curtailed)**
III,v	récitatif	II,vii recitativo
III,vi	No.21 Final	II,viii Finale
	Le cortège de noces	Corteggio delle nozze **(curtailed according to 1836 score)**
	(Choeur et Ballet) (could be curtailed)	
IV,i	No.22 Entr'acte, Récitatif, (Romance, added after 1836)	III,i [Entr'acte?] Recitativo e Romanza
IV,ii	Scène	III,ii Scena
IV,iii -v	No.23 Conjuration et Bénédiction des poignards	III,iii -iv Congiura e Benedizione de'pugnali
IV,vi	No.24 Gran Duo	III,v Gran Duetto
V,i	No.25 Entr'acte et Ballet	IV,i [Entr'acte e] Danze **(entr'acte curtailed, ballet marked for omission by Meyerbeer)**
V,ii	No.26 Récitatif et Air	**marked for omission by Meyerbeer (curtailed/altered in 1848 score)**
V,iii	No.27	IV,ii-iii
	(A) Scène et Gran Trio	Scena e Gran Terzetto **(curtailed)**
	(B) Choeur des meurtriers	Coro di Omicidiari
	(C) Vision	Visione
V,iv	No.28 Scène finale	**omitted 1848-50, though included in 1848 score, reinstated as IV,iv (Scena Ultima) by 1853**

valet, a coryphée and two bohémiennes). The introduction (no.1) was reduced from an expansive set piece made up of complex ensembles, choruses and solos, to a single, comparatively short ensemble. The aim was presumably to impart greater importance to the following romanza for Raoul, sung at the Royal Italian Opera by Mario. The omission of the choeur in the original Act I finale (no.6A) also drew greater attention to the cavatina (no.6B), sung here by Alboni, and moreover adjusted the dramatic function of the piece, which was now placed in the middle of the first act.

With the musical interest thus focused more closely on the soloists, Les Huguenots was transformed from a grand opéra into a work which seemed much more closely related to contemporary Italian works. Similar alterations were also introduced in other grands opéras, for example in the 1850 production of La Juive, although the scale of alterations made to Les Huguenots seems to have been unique. The reduction of the ballets in Les Huguenots appears also to be in line with an adaptation fashioned in accordance with Italian operas, in which such extensive dance scenes were very rare. Moreover, their considerable length and number by far exceeded those of other ballets incidental to operas produced at the Royal Italian Opera. The mediocrity of the ballet company engaged for the 1848 season presumably also made such curtailments seem highly expedient.

It must serve as a salutary reminder that this heavily altered production of Les Huguenots was the one praised by Gruneisen for adhering to the composer's intentions.[121] London audiences clearly did not perceive adaptations per se as a corruption of the work's integrity or an affront to the composer's artistry. As long as these modifications corresponded with the particular performance circumstances and

adhered to accepted performance practices, they were considered entirely permissible, even necessary, for the work's success on the London stage - be it either at the opera house or the playhouse. While the adaptations staged at the two institutions were highly distinct, many of the working procedures as well as the conventions which governed the process of adaptation were very similar. Ethical standards, the singers' abilities and the assimilation of structural elements from those operatic works which had formed the traditional repertory were common to both opera house and playhouse adaptations. Moreover, these were practices which were to remain central to opera production in London throughout the remainder of the 19th and indeed into the 20th century.

NOTES

[1]Ebers, 163-64; see also George Hogarth, Musical History, Biography, and Criticism: being a general survey of music (London: John W. Parker, 1835) 415; Dideriksen, From Manuscript to Performance: Giulio Sabino and London Opera Production in the 1780s (MMus dissertation, University of London, 1992) 15-16.

[2]In a letter to Bunn, the playwright John Howard Payne attempted to capitalise on the manager's interest in new works by offering the following service: 'the value of a mind active and experienced in dramatic affairs, and always on the alert, in Paris... [is] well understood... I would propose to see every novelty and instantly to give you a short account of it, stating my own impression as to its eligibility for Drury Lane' (12 Dec 1846, bMS Thr 32, HTC).

[3]Ebers, 153-54.

[4]ibid., 59; Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London, i:19. Hogarth repeatedly credited Bishop with creating 'a demand for foreign dramatic music' through his adaptations of works by Rossini and Mozart during the early 1820s (Memoirs of the Opera, ii:368-69; Musical History, 414; see also Fenner, 482).

[5]1832 Select Committee, 183; see chapter one, p.27.

[6]See chapter three, pp.163-64 and chapter four, p.203.

[7]Playbills for 13 Nov 1833, 1 April 1834, 12 Feb 1835, HTC; see also chapter three, p.163. In 1850 Gye considered ordering costumes for La Juive in Paris, but abandoned the idea due to the exceedingly high estimate he received from the 'costumier' (8 Feb 1850, Gye Diaries).

[8]See for example the playbill for the ballet The Revolt of the Harem (5 Feb, 15 April 1834, HTC); see also chapter three, p.141. The productions of Gustavus and Lestocq possibly featured some of the original choreography for the incidental dances, as the ballet masters engaged on these occasions had previously been employed at the Opéra.

[9]The Times, 28 June 1855.

[10]It was not possible to carry out an exhaustive comparative investigation into the financial rewards for English and foreign opera within the confines of this study. While the evidence presented here is therefore somewhat scattered, it does seem representative of a more general trend.

[11]Add.23,160; see also chapter three, pp.139 and 153. The following receipts for 1829 to 1831 are taken from the same source.

[12]See chapter one, note 94 and chapter three, pp.163-64.

[13]Bunn, i:285.

[14]ibid., ii:70-74.

[15]See chapter one, p.42 and chapter three, pp.166-67.

[16]See chapter four, p.202.

[17]16 July 1872, Gye Diaries.

[18]29 April 1859, Gye Travel Diary.

[19]Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London, i:27-34; Fenner, 519.

[20]Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London, i: 31-32; Ebers, 363-64; see chapter three, note 99. As part of a future project entitled Theatre Orchestras in 19th-Century Europe (proposed European Science Foundation programme, dir. Pierluigi Petrobelli and Franco Piperno), I hope to examine in greater detail than was possible for this study the effect of the formation of particular opera house orchestras in London on the repertory written for and played by them.

[21]Although the compositional techniques as exemplified in the pasticcio of the 18th century continued to be employed during the 19th century, the term itself was very rarely used to identify such pieces; see p.318 and chapter three, p.156. For 18th century practices see C.Price, 'Unity, Originality, and the London Pasticcio', Harvard Library Bulletin, ed. Lowell Lindgren, new series, ii/4 (winter 1992):17-30; C.Price, 'Pasticcio', Opera Grove, ii:1091; Italian Opera in Eighteenth-Century London, i:29-31.

[22]Hall, 291-93.

[23]Morning Chronicle, 2 Jan 1847, quoted in Hall, 377-78; see also Royal Italian Opera, 1849 season's prospectus, 8.

[24]Memoir of Meyerbeer, 16-17 and 22-23.

[25]Rosenthal, 226-45.

[26]A series of exchanges between Bunn and the Lord Chamberlain's office between 1835 and 1841 concerned the legitimacy of foreign language performances at the patent theatres. These letters reveal that both patents were considered by the Lord Chamberlain to sanction presentations in English only and could not automatically be extended to performances in Italian, French or German. This judgment was presumably based on the conventions established through the 1737 Licensing Act, as neither patents specifically restricted performances at Covent Garden and Drury Lane to a particular language (Entry Books of Out-Letters, LC1/45 (1833-37), 82, 84, 189, 192-93; LC1/46 (1837-40), 107, 109; LC1/47 (1840-43), 94, PRO).

[27]Gruneisen, quoted in Rosenthal, 68. A similar argument was at times also extended to translations into other languages. Introducing a short season of German and French opera sung in German in 1842, Bunn, the company's acting manager, evidently considered it necessary to provide an explanation for this policy beyond the practical consideration of being the versions familiar to the German cast. In the preface to the libretto of Les Huguenots this approach was justified with the 'German

colouring' of Meyerbeer's works 'and therefore the German stage may justly be regarded as the sphere whence its most effective performance is to be confidently looked for' ([E.Scribe and E.Deschamp], Les Huguenots... a German Version, with an English Translation... Now Performing at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden (London: A.Schloss, [1842?]).

[28]Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London, i:34. Some contemporary libretti were published with only an English translation of a purportedly Royal Italian Opera production. These rarely bear any resemblance to the version actually staged at that theatre and appear instead often to be translations of the original French, German or Italian libretti. The advertised link with the opera house therefore appears highly suspect, if not fraudulent.

[29]Memoir of Meyerbeer, 21.

[30]See pp.327 and 330.

[31]Stephens, 35.

[32]See chapter three, p.155.

[33]1832 Select Committee, 112, 214; Stephens, 25-50; Bunn, i:116.

[34]Stephens, 33-35; Bunn to Pocock, 23 July 1834, HTC. Bunn listed the following fees for other commissions: £300 for plays in three or more acts, £150 for two-act plays, £100 for farces and melodramas, and £50 for interludes.

[35]Stephens, 35, 40-41. Kenney was responsible not only for the translation, as Stephens maintains, but also for the adaptation of the opera (see below); Kenney apparently never received his fee. According to Forbes, a piece in three acts, translated from a French original and including music, could earn an author between £200 and £400 (1832 Select Committee, 112).

[36]Kenney's 'Advertisement' to Masaniello... As performed at the Theatre-Royal, Drury Lane (London: Edward Moxon, 1831).

[37]See chapter three for the numerous composers employed at Covent Garden during the 1830s and 1840s.

[38]The Night before the Wedding; and The Wedding Night... Performed at The Theatre Royal Covent Garden, October 10th 1829[sic]. Selected from Boieldieu's Opera "Les Deux Nuits", partly composed, & the whole arranged and adapted for the English Stage by Henry Bishop, manuscript full score, BL.Add.27,725. The opera received its premiere at Covent Garden on 17 November 1829, not 10 October as stated on the title page of the score.

[39]See also the Royal Italian Opera productions of Les Huguenots and L'étoile du nord, pp.302-303. On his visit to Paris in 1833, Bunn bought the score to Hérold's Le pré aux clercs (later produced as The Challenge) from the publisher Troupenas (Bunn, i:129). One of the few documents to include an order for such scores is an undated letter to an

unknown addressee by Rophino Lacy. In this he requested the acquisition of printed scores to Le comte Ory, Le prisonnier, Mosè in Egitto, orchestral parts to three numbers from Le comte Ory, as well as a manuscript score of Le comte Ory; the last item was to be purchased from Giovanni Pacini (HTC).

[40]Unusually, a manuscript libretto as well as the manuscript parts containing the entire spoken dialogue for all artists are preserved together with the full score; this collection furthermore includes the Songs, Choruses, &c..in the Comic Opera of The Night before the Wedding and the Wedding Night: As performed... at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden (London: Goulding and D'Almaine, 1829), a libretto which contains only the words to the musical numbers and omits all spoken dialogue (BL.Add.27,726).

[41]C.Price, 'Italian Opera and Arson in Late Eighteenth-Century London', JAMS, xlii (1989): 87-90; Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London, i:130, 187.

[42]Ebers, 59.

[43]1847 Royal Italian Opera Prospectus. Maggioni's association with the Royal Academy of Music was advertised in a number of libretti, including Lucrezia Borgia and La Sonnambula (both London: Royal Italian Opera, 1847). His translations were used, largely unaltered, at the Royal Italian Opera as well as at other theatres in London and abroad until well into the 1880s.

[44]26 March 1851, Gye Diaries.

[45]See pp.301-302. The libretto to Pietro il grande is a special case, as this was a new opera. Here Maggioni provided only the Italian translation; the original libretto was commissioned from Desmond Ryan (see chapter four, note 78).

[46]Benvenuto Cellini... translated by J.Nicodemo, of Santo-Mango... As represented at the Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden (London: T.Brettell, [1840?]); the date given in the British Library catalogue is incorrect; the libretto was almost certainly published in 1853. La Juive... as represented at the Royal Italian Opera... The Italian version by P.Giannone. The English version by J.W.Tibbert (London: T.Brettell, 1850).

[47]26 March 1851, Gye Diaries. A payment of £35 to Maggioni is recorded in the 1851 Coutts ledger on 25 April; the production had at the time not yet been cancelled (see chapter four, p.209).

[48]31 Jan, 16 July 1850, see also 26 March 1851, Gye Diaries.

[49][Cesare Sterbini], Il Barbiere di Siviglia... As performed at The King's Theatre (London: W.Winchester and Son, [1819?]); the original date of 1818 was later pasted over. [Ditto], Il Barbiere di Siviglia... Performed at the Royal Italian Opera... Authorized Version (London: G.Stuart, 1847).

[50][Temistocle Solera], Nino... Performed at Her Majesty's Theatre, Haymarket (London: G.Stuart, [1840?]); [ditto], Anato... Performed at the Royal Italian Opera (London: G.Stuart, [1846?]). Both publication dates given in the British Library catalogue are incorrect and should almost certainly read 1846 for Her Majesty's and 1850 for the Royal Italian Opera. Some of the musical material used at the Royal Italian Opera appears also to have been linked to Her Majesty's. Several manuscript chorus parts are dated 1850 and another is marked 'May 11, 1850 NINO' (the performance material to Nabucco was until recently housed in the Archives of the Royal Opera House, but has now been transferred to the British Library).

[51]La Donna del Lago... First performed at the King's Theatre, February 18, 1823... The Translation by W.J.Walter (London: Printed for John Ebers, 1823); [Andre Tottola], La Donna del Lago... As represented at the King's Theatre, Haymarket (London: T.Brettell, 1829); M.Maggioni, La Donna del Lago... as represented at the Royal Italian Opera (London: The Royal Italian Opera, [1847]).

[52]Stephens, 91-93.

[53]In an apparent reversal of these procedures, the 1851 production of Masaniello at Her Majesty's utilised much of the Italian text published for the 1849 Royal Italian Opera production. It is unclear, why Lumley was able to use the Royal Italian Opera edition, though this may be linked to the fact that he commissioned a new English translation (M.Maggioni, Masaniello... As represented at the Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden (London: T.Brettell, [1849]); [E.Scribe and Germain Delavigne], Muta di Portici (Masaniello)... Performed at Her Majesty's Theatre. Authorized Edition (London: G.Stuart, [c.1850])).

[54]Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London, i:27; Ebers, 59 and 362.

[55]Memoir of Meyerbeer, 22.

[56]G.Meyerbeer, Les Huguenots... Représenté pour la première fois à Paris sur le théâtre de l'Academie Royale de Musique (Paris: Maurice Schlesinger, [1836]); facsimile reproduction in Early Romantic Operas, xx, introduction by Charles Rosen, 2 vols (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1980); Memoir of Meyerbeer, 22; M.Maggioni, Gli Ugonotti... as represented at the Royal Italian Opera (London: T.Brettell, [1848?]); see pp.303 and 313.

[57]G.Meyerbeer, Gli Ugonotti...messe in Italiano da Manfredo Maggioni... per la prima volta rappresentata al Regio Teatro Italiano, Covent Garden (London: R.Addison & Co, [1848?]; Gli Ugonotti...The English Version by Frank Romer...messe in Italiano da Manfredo Maggioni... per la prima volta rappresentata al Regio Teatro Italiano (London: R.Addison & Co, [n.d.]), annotated, ROHA, Les Huguenots, Box 1.

[58]A request for 'the score of the "Huguenots"' was sent to Meyerbeer by Mr Hampton, the 'Secretary of the Royal Italian Opera' (Meyerbeer, iv:374 (20 March 1848)). Whether this refers to the published full score or the manuscript scores for the various amendments commissioned from

Meyerbeer for this production is unclear; see pp.303-304 and 313.

[59]M.Maggioni, La Stella del Nord... as represented at the Royal Italian Opera (London: T.Brettell, [1855]), prepublication copy submitted to the Lord Chamberlain's office, BL.Add.52,955 (July-Sept 1855); ditto, La Stella del Nord (London: T.Brettell, [1855]); The Italian & English Version of L'Etoile du Nord, Opéra Comique en Trois Actes... The Italian Version by M.Maggioni, as Performed at the Royal Italian Opera, The English Version by Henry F.Chorley (London: Cramer, Beale & Chappell, [1856]).

[60]Chapter four, note 115; see also chapter four, p.209 for the score to L'enfant prodigue.

[61]G.Meyerbeer, L'Étoile du Nord... Représenté pour la 1re fois à Paris, sur le théâtre imp. de l'Opéra comique, le 16 Février 1854, 3 vols (Paris: Brandus et Cie, [1854]), with additional recitatives inserted in manuscript, ROHA, L'étoile du Nord, Box 1. A comparable score also survives in the Archives for the 1863 production of Masaniello (Masaniello, Box 1). The Royal Opera House score for L'étoile du nord seems to bear some relation to an apparently unrecorded supplement published by Brandus in 1855 which includes another version of the new recitatives (BL.H.612.e., title page missing, [L'Étoile du Nord...], plate no. B.et Cie. 9598; Anik Devries and François Lesure, Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français, 2 vols (Geneva: Éditions Minkoff, 1988) ii:78). The relation of this supplement to the 1855 production is unclear. Although it corresponds in many details with the Royal Opera House score, the numerous variants leave some doubt as to whether it was published before, after or indeed independently of the Royal Italian Opera staging.

[62]J.C.Horton was the principal music librarian and copyist from at least 1856. It has not been possible to confirm his hand with certainty in earlier performance material, although he was listed as a creditor in Delafield's bankruptcy proceedings (The Times, 7 Sept 1849); payments to a Mr Horton are also listed in the Coutts ledgers for 1852 to 1854 and again from 1856 onwards.

[63]Gye noted three visits by Meyerbeer to the Royal Italian Opera in 1855, one of them a chorus rehearsal (19 and 20 June, 16 July 1855, Gye Diaries). Meyerbeer's 1855 diary probably contains a more extensive account of his involvement in rehearsals; this document still awaits transcription by Sabine Henze-Döhring.

[64]ROHA, Les Huguenots, Boxes 4 to 6 and L'étoile du Nord, Box 5.

[65]For a full description and discussion of these documents, see Dideriksen, 'Meyerbeer in London c.1850', British Musicology Conference, 20 April 1996 (forthcoming).

[66]Meyerbeer, iii (1837-45):404 (27 May 1842); 'Pas de danse (de Meyerbeer) à intercaler au troisieme acte des Huguenots', contemporary German[?] manuscript full score with autograph annotations, ROHA, Les Huguenots, Box 1; I would like to thank Prof. Mark Everist for confirming the identification of Meyerbeer's hand in this manuscript.

[67][G.Meyerbeer], 'Danse des Bohémiens', French manuscript full score, ROHA, Les Huguenots, Box 1.

[68]An autograph of the Andantino, as well as the other three new movements, has recently been discovered in the Bibliothéque Nationale; I am grateful to Dr. Martha Ottlová for drawing this autograph to my attention and for showing me a photocopy of the manuscript.

[69][G.Meyerbeer], 'Acte 5ieme Entreacte & Ritournelle nouvelle qui precedera le No.27 (du[?] full score) Scène & grand Trio', autograph, ROHA, Les Huguenots, Box 1. I would like to thank Prof. Mark Everist for confirming the identification of this score as an autograph manuscript.

[70]ROHA, Les Huguenots, Boxes 4 to 6.

[71][M.Lemon?], The Lady of the Lake, An Opera, in Two acts... (London: Jeffreys and Nelson, [1840?]). The following quotation is taken from [J.R.Planché], Norma, A Grand Tragic Opera in Two Acts, freely rendered from the Italian (London: S.G.Fairbrother, [1848?]). The dates tentatively assigned to these libretti in the catalogue of the British Library are almost certainly incorrect; the cast lists indicate that both were published for productions at Covent Garden in 1843 and 1841 respectively.

[72]Review in the Morning Post, quoted in [Emanuel Schikaneder], The Magic Flute... In German and English, 2.edn. (London: A.Schloss, [1841?]), and [E.Scribe and G.Delavigne], Robert the Devil... In German and English (London: A.Schloss, [1842]). The translator of these libretti is unknown.

[73]On 26 March 1851 Gye noted in his diary that the chorus master Orsini was 'to help him [Maggioni] with the musical part'. This conceivably referred to the process of matching and adapting the translation to the vocal lines or vice versa; whether such a collaboration was common practice is unclear.

[74]One exception was Maggioni's English translation of Rigoletto, which was not of consistently high quality and included a curiously imprecise translation of 'La donna è mobile' as 'The women are unsettled' (Rigoletto... (London: T.Brettell, [1853]).

[75]Performances at the playhouse commenced at seven, those at the opera house at eight o'clock; both usually finished between eleven o'clock and midnight.

[76]17 Aug 1852, Gye Diaries. Jullien made substantial cuts for the second performance (19 Aug 1852, ibid). See also the review of L'étoile du nord in The Times which commented on the opera's late finishing time of 12.45am (20 July 1855).

[77]Lacy to Robertson, 6 Dec 1830, HTC.

[78]Preface to J.R.Planché, Gustavus the Third, or The Masked Ball... Performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden (London: D'Almaine and Co, 1833).

[79]Gustavus now appears to have participated only in the last ensemble in the finale to Act III. Planché later insisted that these alterations had been introduced partly in an effort 'to vindicate the character of poor Madame Ankarstrom, who was actually living at that period...'; another factor was the apparent paucity of adequate singers (Planché, i:211). While the latter argument was indeed plausible, the former would at best have been a secondary consideration, given the problems the author would undoubtedly have encountered with the Lord Chamberlain, had these changes not been made. The transformation of the title role was not noted by Rosenthal (46).

[80]See p.299.

[81]Rossini's Mosè in Egitto may have been similarly treated on its Royal Italian Opera premiere in 1850 as Zora. No libretto has apparently survived, but the cast list and advertisements suggests that the version produced at Covent Garden was based on Moïse et Pharaon (Opéra, 1827), with some character names changed (The Times, 20 April 1850). The opera had also been renamed on the occasion of its first performance in England at the King's Theatre in 1822 as Pietro l'Eremita, 'the title of "Mosé in Egitto" being considered too sacred for an opera' (Ebers, 158).

[82]J.Nicodemo, Benvenuto Cellini... As represented at the Royal Italian Opera (London: T.Brettell, 1853]), submitted to the Lord Chamberlain 24 June 1853, BL.Add.52,941H.

[83]The Lord Chamberlain's copy of Les Huguenots appears not to have survived. Gruneisen announced in his Memoir of Meyerbeer, a pamphlet probably published before the libretto had been submitted to the Lord Chamberlain, that the last scene of Les Huguenots would be omitted in performance (63). The scene is missing from all libretti published for the Royal Italian Opera between 1848 and 1850; it was reintroduced no later than 1853. Meyerbeer apparently planned to write an alternative ending for the London production of Les Huguenots, although this evidently did not materialise (the author in conversation with Dr.Martha Ottlová).

[84]The air et cavatine is included in the manuscript libretto and the published Songs, Chorus etc..., but is missing from the manuscript full score (BL.Add.27,725 and 27,726); compare also chapter five, p.257.

[85]I.Pocock, John of Paris... As performed at the Theatres Royal London (London: John Cumberland, [1830]). Russell participated as a chorus member in the 1833 production of Lacy's The Israelites in Egypt (see chapter three, p.141 and note 17).

[86]Beethoven's Fidelio or Constancy Rewarded....Performed at the Theatres Royal, Covent Garden & Drury Lane (London, Wessel & Co, [1835]) [vocal score].

[87]"I love her! How I love her!", The Admired Song as Sung by Mr Templeton..., 2.edn. (London: D'Almaine & Co, [1833?]); "Love, I abjure thee", sung by Mr Templeton... (London: D'Almaine & CO, [1834])); Dictionary of Music and Musicians, iv:81.

[88]10 June 1853, Gye Diaries. The nature of these alterations is uncertain. Some changes were made to the 1849 libretto, but the music, as published by Cramer, Beale and Chappell, appears unaltered (M.Maggioni, Le Prophète.... As Represented at the Royal Italian Opera (London: T.Brettell, [1849]); G.Meyerbeer, Le Prophète... performed at the Royal Italian Opera (London: Cramer, Beale & Co and Chappell, [1849]); Early Romantic Opera, xxi: Le prophète..., introduction by C.Rosen, 2 vols (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1978).

[89]Refusal by composers to take on such commissions could lead to the cancellation of productions: 'called on Halevy he was too busy to alter Guido e Genevra as Mario wished'; the opera was consequently not staged at the Royal Italian Opera (21 Jan 1850, Gye Diaries); see also chapter four, note 87.

[90]Meyerbeer, iv:372 and 396 (14 March, 2 and 3 June 1848); Memoir of Meyerbeer, 22-23. No autograph of "Caso egual giammai scommetto" seems to have been preserved in the Archives of the Royal Opera House.

[91]Folder containing various deletions to orchestral parts, dated 1871, including those for the page's aria, ROHA, Les Huguenots, Box 1. In the vocal score used for Royal Italian Opera productions during this period, the pages containing this aria were stitched together, a method commonly employed to mark omissions.

[92]22 Feb 1864, Gye Diaries.

[93]La Stella del Nord. Suggerire, manuscript vocal score with Meyerbeer's annotations, 3 vols, stamped 'F.Gye Esqre, Royal Italian Opera', ROHA, L'étoile du Nord, Box 2.

[94]Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London, i:27-31.

[95]I.Pocock, John of Paris... First performed at the Theatre-Royal, Covent-Garden... The Overture, Songs, &c composed by Mr.Bishop; the rest of the music by Boieldieu (London: John Miller, 1814); H.Bishop, The Whole of the Music in John of Paris... (London: Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co, [1814]). For the sources to Les deux nuits, see pp.296-97 and notes 38 and 40.

[96]M.Maggioni, Il Barbiere di Siviglia... as represented at the Royal Italian Opera (London: T.Brettell, [1854]). The aria may have been the ballata, "Ah! che assorta" by a Maestro Venzano, which was apparently introduced by Bosio to Il barbiere at an unspecified date (London: Leader & Cock, n.d.).

[97][A.L.Tottola], La Donna del Lago... Performed at the Royal Italian Opera... Authorized Edition (London: G.Stuart, [1847?]); Maggioni, La Donna del Lago....

[98]Edizione Critica delle Opere di Gioachino Rossini, Sezione Prima, Opere Teatrali, xxix: La Donna del Lago, ed. H.Colin Slim, 4 vols (Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini Pesaro, 1990) iii:178. The original recitative was probably altered; the 1847 incipit reads "Oh! sospirato lido! oh caro albergo".

[99]ibid, iii:192-94.

[100]See chapter five, p.262 and the analyses of Home Sweet Home, Paul Clifford and Amilie.

[101]Planché, J.R., Plays from the Lord Chamberlain's Office, lx (Oct-Nov 1833): Gustavus the Third..., BL.Add.42,924, ff.157-87. The following excerpts were all published in London by D'Almaine & Co: "To read the Stars pretending" [no.4], Sung by Miss Shirreff..., 2.edn., [1835?]; T.Cooke, "When Time hath bereft thee".... as sung by Mr H.Phillips..., 2.edn., [c.1835]; The Invitation to the Ball [no.16]... Sung by Miss Shirreff..., [1834]; Masquerade Song [no.19], Sung by Miss Shirreff..., [c.1835]; H.Herz, Three Airs de Ballet from Auber's Opera of Gustave, [1833]; ditto., Galop Favorit. de Gustave III... (London: Goulding & D'Almaine, [June 1833]); see also notes 71, 79 and 88.

[102]E.Scribe, La France Dramatique au Dix-Neuvième Siècle, Choix de Pièces Modernes. Gustave III. Opéra Historique en Cinq Actes, ed. C.Tresse (Paris: J.-N.Barba et V.Bezou, 1845); D.F.E.Auber, Gustave ou le Bal masqué... Représenté pour la première fois sur le Théâtre de l'Academie Royale de Musique, 3 vols (Paris: E.Troupenas, [1835?]).

[103]Songs, Duets, Concerted Pieces and Choruses, in... Cinderella, or The Fairy Queen & the Glass Slipper. The music composed by Rossini. containing choice selections from his operas of Cenerentola, Armida, Maometto 2do., and Guillaume Tell... The whole arranged and adapted to the English stage by and produced under the direction of M. Rophino Lacy... (London: WM. Kenneth, 1830) [libretto]; Plays from the Lord Chamberlain's Office, xxxvi (Feb-Mar 1830): Cinderella or The Fairy Queen & the Glass Slipper, manuscript libretto, BL.Add.42,900, ff.445-89; "Sir A Secret Most Important", The celebrated Vocal Duet Sung in Rossini's Opera of Cinderella. The English words written and the Music adapted by M.R.Lacy (London: B.Williams, [1866]); "Swift as the Flash", Tyrolien for Four Voices, Sung in the Comic Opera Called Cinderella... (London: Goulding & D'Almaine, [1830]); "Now with grief no longer bending",...in the Comic Opera Called Cinderella, or the Fairy & Little Glass Slipper, at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane... Written & Adapted to the English Stage, by M.Rophino Lacy (London: D'Almaine & Co, [1849]).

[104]G.Rossini, La Cenerentola, Riproduzione dell'autografo esistente presso l'Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna, introduction by Philip Gossett, 2 vols (Bologna: Forni, [1969]); P.Gossett, 'Rossini's Operas and their Printed Librettos', Proceedings of the Xth Congress of the International Musicological Society Ljubljana, 1967; Early Romantic Opera, xxvii: Guillaume Tell, introduction by P.Gossett, 2 vols (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1980); G.Rossini, L'Assedio di Corinto ossia Maometto II... (Rome: Leopoldo Ratti, Gio. Batta Cencetti e Comp., [1830?]); Early Romantic Opera, xxiv: Le Siège de Corinthe, introduction by P.Gossett (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1980); G.Rossini, Armida, ed. Daniele Da Deppo (Florence: Edizioni Musicali Otos, 1979).

[105]Two keyboard reductions of the overture to Cenerentola were published in 1830, though without any specific reference to the Covent Garden production (G.Rossini, Overture to the Opera of La Cenerentola or Cinderella (London: T.Holloway, [c.1830]); ditto., The Overture to the Opera of La Cenerentola or Cinderella (London: Geo. Walker, [c.1830])).

[106]The scarcity of musical evidence concerning Lacy's adaptations of Armida, Guillaume Tell and Maometto II make it impossible to ascertain whether he made any significant stylistic changes which might have unified the excerpts.

[107]Leigh Hunt, writing in The Tatler, quoted in Fenner, 489-90.

[108]One might speculate that the failure of Benvenuto Cellini was due in part to Berlioz's failure to implement such changes; the opera was still exceedingly long and contained numerous highly complex ensembles (Hector Berlioz New Edition of the Complete Works: Benvenuto Cellini, ed. Hugh Macdonald, 2 vols (Kassel: Bärenreiter, i: 1994; ii: forthcoming); Benvenuto Cellini... (London: T.Brettell, 1853]); Léon de Wailly, Auguste Barbier and Alfred de Vigny, Benvenuto Cellini, L'Avant Scène Opéra, Nov-Dec 1991, no.142.

[109]The Times, 20 July 1855.

[110]Selected Works of Louis Spohr 1784-1859, 10 vols, ed. Clive Brown, i:Faust, ed. Jonathan Stracey, introduction by C.Brown (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1990) vi and vii; M.Maggioni, Faust... As represented at the Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden (London: T.Brettell, [1852]); J.Wrey Mould, An Account of Spohr's Faust, in L.Spohr, Faust. A Lyric Tragedy, written by Bernard and rendered into English from the German by J.Wrey Mould... (London: T.Boosey and Co, [1852]); this vocal score excludes the new recitatives and the English translation used differs entirely from that published in the Royal Italian Opera libretto.

[111]According to the Autobiography, Spohr initially refused Gye's proposals concerning the composition of new recitatives for Faust as he considered such an undertaking unfeasible (302). No such reservations are recorded by Gye upon their first meeting (25 Jan 1852, Gye Diaries).

[112]L.Spohr, Faust, [1852], Mus.ms.autogr. L.Spohr 2, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv.

[113]L.Spohr, Faust... Vollständiger Klavier-Auszug mit deutschem & italienischem Texte. Neue, mit den vom Componisten für die italienische Oper in London geschriebenen Recitativen und Zusätzen vermehrte Auflage (Leipzig, C.F.Peters, [1854]).

[114]Curiously, the translation into Italian in 1852 is neither mentioned by Clive Brown and Jonathan Stracey in the critical commentary nor are this text or the Italian words of the 1854 score included in the edition of the music; indeed, the authors appear to have been unaware of the existence of the original Italian libretto and have consequently not

discussed the variants (Faust, ed. Stracey, xii).

[115]See pp.301-302 and notes 59, 61, 64, 93 and 116 for sources. The autograph score to the first production of L'étoile du nord at the Opéra Comique in 1854 is at present presumed lost. The remarkably rich sources for the London production, as preserved in the archives of the Royal Opera House, are therefore all the more important and should form a significant contribution to any future critical edition.

[116]These arias were written for the tenor Joseph Tichatschek for the Dresden production in 1855 (Meyerbeer to Pietro Romani, 21 May 1855, Becker, 155). Schlesinger's edition of the Arioso was inserted into the performance score (G.Meyerbeer, Arioso. (Für Herrn Tichatschek bei der Aufführung im Theater zu Dresden componirt.) Einlage in Act III No.[sic] (Berlin: Schlesinger, [n.d.])).

[117]The Times, 20 July 1855; Cox, ii:283.

[118]Meyerbeer's annotations suggest that a short section of melodrama may have been introduced to the II,iv recitative; the relevant bars were first amended by Meyerbeer, then partially erased and the rhythm to which the words were to be spoken altered by another scribe. Such a revision, if performed, would seem entirely out of keeping with the remainder of the opera as produced at the Royal Italian Opera.

[119]Meyerbeer may have made some corrections to the Trio in III,iii (no.16); this number is currently inaccessible as the relevant pages in the performances score have been stitched together tightly, indicating a cut.

[120]For the numerous sources see pp.301-304 and notes 56, 57, 64, 90 and 91.

[121]See p.294.

Conclusion

By the mid-1850s competition had resulted in a comprehensive transformation not only of one of London's principal theatres, but also of the capital's theatrical culture as a whole. The era of the playhouse, as defined throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries, was effectively over. With the loss of legal protection and the increased competition for audiences, the playhouse companies of Covent Garden and Drury Lane, which had attempted to present the whole array of drama, opera and ballet, were simply no longer viable. During the remainder of the 19th century, London's theatre managers instead sought to limit the repertory of their companies to particular genres or even a few select pieces. At the same time, London's traditional opera house, the King's Theatre/Her Majesty's, which had survived into the 19th century despite a host of serious financial problems, was supplanted by a new institution, the Royal Italian Opera, which owed its artistic and relative financial success to the managerial skills and artistic foresight of Frederick Gye.

Given the scope of this study, a comprehensive analysis of all issues was impossible. Contemporary English operas and the conventions of adaptations produced for the London stage, in particular, require further detailed research if the traditions of opera production in 19th-century London are to be fully understood. An examination of English adaptations of foreign operas during the early 19th century is currently in progress. The rich source material housed at the Archives of the Royal Opera House warrants an extended investigation of productions at the Royal Italian Opera, embracing the full length of Gye's tenure to 1878. This would encompass a more thorough study of the company's relation with Meyerbeer and its links with other major composers such as

Verdi and Wagner, as well as further research into performance traditions and the reconstruction of individual productions. Comparative studies of the other two major theatre companies in London, Her Majesty's and Drury Lane, would serve to establish more extensive patterns of operatic conventions and institutional structures. The close affinity between London's major opera companies and the Parisian theatres, especially the Opéra, Opéra Comique and Odéon, suggests that research into national institutions and traditions would benefit greatly from comparison with other European institutions.

One of the principal focal points of possible future research, as well as of this dissertation, is the importance of the opera manager during the 19th century as the crucial link between composers, singers and musicians and the key instigator of artistic policies. This role is most strikingly documented in Gye's diaries - the single most important primary source discovered during my research for this project and one which should form a significant source of information for any future research into 19th-century opera management.

Appendix 1: Receipts for the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, 1809-1843

Sources:

1809-1832: 1832 Select Committee, Appendix 13: Receipts of Covent Garden, 1809-10 to 1831-32

1834-35: Bunn, iii:258; receipts at Covent Garden and Drury Lane together

1839-42: The Times, 16 May 1842

1809-10	£77,575.6.4	1832-33	[]
1810-11	£98,110.4.8	1833-34	[]
1811-12	£88,703.19.4	1834-35	£49,876.9.1
1812-13	£69,929.7.6	1835-36	[]
1813-14	£83,765.15.6	1836-37	[]
1814-15	£89,972.17.6	1837-38	[]
1815-16	£80,091.14.5	1838-39	[]
1816-17	£70,529.3.3	1839-40	£48,673.17.6
1817-18	£72,968.7.1	1840-41	£49,227.6.4
1818-19	£72,115.12.5	1841-42	£42,535.17.0
1819-20	£53,591.1.10	1842-43	[]
1820-21	£68,168.13.4		
1821-22	£58,171.17.2		
1822-23	£52,318.19.6		
1823-24	£60,496.17.5		
1824-25	£72,160.5.1		
1825-26	£58,017.1.2		
1826-27	£53,032.2.8		
1827-28	£55,212.16.9		
1828-29	£41,029.2.1		
1829-30	£57,431.12.10		
1830-31	£42,248.14.4		
1831-32	£43,318.19.11		

Appendix 2: Transcription - Lease Agreement between Frederick Gye and the Proprietors of Covent Garden, 1854 (Archives of the Royal Opera House, 3rd Theatre, Large Items, 2./C).

Dated 12th day of July 1854

The Proprietors of Covent Garden Theatre

- and -

Frederick Gye, Junr. Esqre.

- Agreement -

Articles of Agreement entered into this Twelfth day of July One Thousand eight hundred and fifty four **Between William Harry Surman** of Lincolns Inn in the County of Middlesex Esquire, **Charles Kemble** of Saville Row Regent Street in the said County Esquire, **John Saltren Willett** of Petticombe in the County of Devon Esquire, and **John Forbes** of Windsor Forest in the County of Berks Esquire a Captain in Her Majesty's Navy of the one part, and **Frederick Gye** Junior of Springfield House in the County of Surrey Esquire of the other part. 1st. The said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes agree to grant and the said Frederick Gye agrees to take a Lease of the use of all that Theatre and Building known as "The Theatre Royal Covent Garden" except and reserved thereout seven private Boxes known as the Duke of Bedford's, Miss [Angela] Burdett Coutts and Nos. 37, 38, 39, 40 and 101 and the rights appertaining thereto, also the premises the Corner of Hart Street and Princes Place, and subject to the rights and privileges of the Shareholders and others as hereinafter more particularly mentioned and excepted, together with the use of the Chandeliers, Lamps, Looking Glasses, Scenery, Machinery, Furniture, Fittings, Fixtures, Benches, Sofas,

Chairs, Decorations, Carpets, Dresses, Wardrobe, Music, Musical Instruments, Operas, Plays and other dramatic Pieces, Ballets, Burlettas, Musical Books and Compositions and all other Books, Articles, Properties and Effects now in, upon or belonging to the said Theatre and Premises, for the Term of Ten years commencing on the first day of October One Thousand eight hundred and fifty three, at the rent and subject to the Covenant, stipulations and Agreements hereinafter mentioned or referred to -

2nd. **That** the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes do not by this Agreement nor by the intended Lease give Possession of the said Theatre and Premises to the said Frederick Gye, but only the free use thereof together with free egress and regress at all times to and for himself and all other persons to be employed by him or who shall be engaged in the Theatrical and other performances and business to be conducted therein, and that the Firemen employed by the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes retain possession of the said Theatre and premises for and on behalf of the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes during the said term as the said Frederick Gye doth hereby admit:-

3rd. **That** this Agreement and the proposed Lease are subject to the rights of the renters or shareholders and others upon the said Theatre not exceeding in the whole the number of One hundred and seventy seven persons, and are also subject to certain claims made by Mr Austin and by the representatives of Mr Webb to three Silver Tickets held by Miss Coutts, and the rights and privileges of the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes, and the said Frederick Gye enters into this Agreement subject to such rights and

claims:-

4th. **That** the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes shall be entitled to receive as and for the yearly rent of the said Theatre in every year during the first three years of the said term Six thousand five hundred pounds and in every year during the last seven years of the said term Seven thousand pounds. The same respectively to be receivable by weekly Instalments of Three hundred pounds, and the first of such Instalments to be receivable at the expiration of the first week after the said Theatre shall have been opened as an Italian Opera House, until the said weekly Sums of Three hundred pounds shall amount to Five thousand pounds, and in the event of the said Weekly sums not amounting together to the sum of Five thousand pounds, then the deficiency of the said sum of Five thousand pounds shall be paid by the thirty first day of August following. That the sum of One thousand five hundred pounds or Two thousand pounds the balance of the said rent shall be paid on the first day of January following, or in the event of the said Theatre being open for Performances when not used for Italian Opera then One hundred pounds per week shall be paid Weekly during such time as the said Theatre may be open towards the discharge and payment of the said balance of rent:-

5th. **That** the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes shall pay the Ground rent, Land tax, Property tax, and all other rates and taxes excepting the Income Tax:-

6th. **That** the said Frederick Gye shall open the said Theatre in each year as an Italian Opera House not later than the Middle of April in each year unless further time for that purpose shall be given to him by writing under the hands of the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes:-

7th. **That** the said Frederick Gye shall keep the said Theatre open as an Italian Opera House as and from the Middle of April in each year until the Middle of July in each year, should the said Frederick Gye from any cause not open the said Theatre as an Italian Opera House, or not keep it open as above mentioned in any one season, he shall be liable to the forfeiture of his Lease unless he shall have taken upon himself to pay a Positive fixed rental of Eight thousand pounds for that year in lieu of the said Six thousand five hundred pounds or seven thousand pounds. The said Eight thousand pounds to be payable by twelve monthly Instalments of Six hundred and Sixty Six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence each, the first of such Instalments to be paid on the first day of November in every year:-

8th. **That** the said Frederick Gye shall not use or occupy or allow to be used or occupied the said Theatre as a Residence or Dwelling House and shall not make any substantial alteration in the said Theatre and premises without having first obtained in each and every case the licence and consent in writing of the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes:-

9th. **That** the said Frederick Gye shall not assign or underlet his whole interest in the said Theatre and premises or any part thereof or part with his whole interest therein without the consent in writing under the hands of the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes first had and obtained except in case as hereinafter mentioned and shall not use or allow any work to be done on or upon the said Theatre and premises or any part thereof except for the purposes of the said Theatre - and shall not allow any of the Furniture, Properties or Effects being the property of the said Proprietors to be lent or used for any purposes whatsoever other than those of the said Theatre without the

consent in writing of the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes first had and obtained:-

10th. **That** each of them the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes together with any friends and also the Treasurers or Agent for the time being shall at all times have free access to the said Theatre and pass and repass to and from any part of the said Theatre and on all occasions have the right of entrance in Princes Place:-

11th. **That** the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes shall give free Admissions in writing signed by any one of the them not exceeding twenty four in any one week unless the performances exceed three in a week and then at the rate of an additional Eight for each other performance:-

12th. **That** the said Frederick Gye shall not obstruct or interfere with the Owners or Occupiers for the time being of the said Boxes known and distinguished as the Duke of Bedford's Box, Miss [Angela] Burdett Coutts' Box, Boxes Nos. 37, 38, 39, 40 and 101 in the use or enjoyment of the said Boxes, but that such owners and occupiers and their friends shall have the rights of free ingress, egress and regress at all times to and from the said several Boxes without let or hindrance by the said Frederick Gye:-

13th. **That** for the protection against loss by fire the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes during the said term keep constantly at their Expense four Firemen in the said Theatre and Premises but the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes are not to be responsible to or indemnify the said Frederick Gye from any loss he may sustain by fire:-

14th. **That** the said Firemen employed by the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes shall have free access at all times to every part of the said Theatre and premises and shall

pass and repass to and from any part of the said Theatre and premises to and from any other part thereof without any interruption or disturbance by the said Frederick Gye:-

15th. **That** all improvements and alterations to be made in or to the said Theatre or to the Present Properties, Wardrobe, Scenery, Machinery, Fixtures, Furniture and Effects therein being the property of the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes shall be and remain the property and for the benefit of the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes, but that all articles other than fixtures and such like articles in substitution of Articles now in the said Theatre being the property of the said proprietors already furnished or to be furnished by the said Frederick Gye shall be and remain the property of the said Frederick Gye:-

16th. **That** after any default in payment by the said Frederick Gye or any Instalments or any parts of any Instalment or rent payable by him under this Agreement or the intended Lease, it shall be lawful for the said William Harry Surman on behalf of himself and of the said Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes from time to time to nominate and appoint in writing under his hand a Treasurer, and that such Treasurer shall be entitled in the stead of the said Frederick Gye to demand and receive all monies which may at the date of his appointment be due or which may after the date of his appointment become due to the said Frederick Gye from any person or persons for the right of Admission into the said Theatre or any part thereof, or for any use of or privilege exercisable in the said Theatre or any part thereof during the current year wherein such Treasurer may be appointed or any part of that year, and that such Treasurer shall be entitled to nominate and appoint on his behalf Moneytakers to receive such

monies or any of such monies at the Box Office or at the doors or in any other part of the said Theatre, and that the receipt or receipts of such Treasurer for any monies so to be received by him as aforesaid shall be good and sufficient discharges to any persons or person paying such monies to him, and that such Treasurer shall be entitled to act generally in relation to the monies so to be received by him as aforesaid in the same manner and to the same extent as but for the appointment of him the said Frederick Gye would be entitled to act, and that the said Frederick Gye will not obstruct or interfere with such Treasurer in the demands or receipts of such monies or of any such monies, but that on the contrary the said Frederick Gye will by deed or otherwise give unto such Treasurer every such power for enabling him conveniently to demand and receive such monies or any of such monies as the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes may reasonably require, and that such Treasurer shall from and after his appointment until any sum or sums due by the said Frederick Gye on account of rent shall have been paid, deduct out of such receipts as aforesaid in the first place all expenses arising from this Clause and in the next Place the Amount of any Instalments or Instalment or of any part of any Instalment or Instalments of rent, which may then be due from the said Frederick Gye under this agreement or the intended Lease, and shall after such deduction pay the surplus of such monies to the said Frederick Gye, the appointments of the said Treasurer to remain in force until any arrears due for rent by the said Frederick Gye be paid and not longer. **Provided** always that this Clause or any proceeding thereunder shall not in any way affect the exercise of any right of Ejectment or other right which by the Agreement or the intended Lease may be expressly given to the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes:-

17th. **That** the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes shall at their own Expense keep the roof of the said Theatre and premises and the exterior Walls in good repair:-

18th. **That** the said Frederick Gye shall in the first and every succeeding third year of the said term paint the exterior Wood and ironwork of the said Theatre and premises in the usual manner, the roof not included:-

19th. **That** the said Frederick Gye shall during the said term keep the interior of the said Theatre and premises and all the pictures, furniture and Effects and the Scenery, Properties, Wardrobe and other things therein before enumerated in good condition and repair, reasonable wear and tear allowed, and shall so deliver up the same to the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes at the expiration of the said term:-

20th. **That** the said Frederick Gye shall be at liberty to put an end to the said term and to this agreement at any time upon giving to the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes One Calendar month notice in writing for that purpose, the same to terminate on the first day of October in any year:-

21th. **That** if the said Frederick Gye shall depart this life, or shall become Bankrupt, or shall assign his Estate in trust[?] for his Creditors, or shall take the benefit of any Act or Acts of Parliament passed or to be passed for the relief of Insolvent Debtors, or if the said Theatre shall not be opened as and for an Italian Opera House by the Middle of next April or any subsequent April (the said Frederick Gye not having taken upon himself the fixed rent of Eight thousand pounds per annum), or if after the said Theatre shall have been opened as and for an Italian Opera House the same shall be closed during any season for the space of two weeks, or if the rents payable under this agreement or the intended Lease shall be unpaid

for the space of fourteen days, or if the said Frederick Gye should fail in the performance of any of his Covenants such as actually constitute the forfeiture of a Lease, then it shall be lawful for the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes to terminate this agreement or the said Lease, if it shall have been granted, and thereupon immediately to Eject the said Frederick Gye from the use of the said Theatre and Premises and to hold the same to all intents and purposes as if this agreement had never been entered into and the said Frederick Gye hereby empowers the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes so to act and agrees that he will rectify and confirm any act by which such Surrender or determination of this Agreement may be most speedily effected:-

22nd. **That** the said Lease and Counterparts shall be prepared, engrossed and stamped by the solicitor of the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes, but at the expense of the party requiring it and the said Lease shall contain covenants in accordance with this agreement and all such other Covenants as are in Leases from the Duke of Bedford which may be applicable to property of this nature:-

23rd. **That** in the event of the said Frederick Gye on or before the thirty first day of December in any one year undertaking to pay the said William Harry Surman, Charles Kemble, John Saltren Willett and John Forbes a fixed annual sum of Eight thousand pounds payable by twelve monthly payments of Six hundred and Sixty Six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence such as before mentioned for either or all of the said ten years and paying at the time of his giving such undertaking or notice the Amount that may be due in respect of his said monthly payments then and in such case these Lessors shall and will take the yearly sum of Eight thousand pounds as and for the rent and taxes of the said Theatre and the said Frederick

Gye shall not be bound not to assign, underlet or part with his interests in the said Theatre, nor to open it as an Italian Opera:-

[signed] F.Gye

Witness
W.G[?] Hill
Clerk to Mr Surman
11 Lincolns Inn

Cancelled by mutual consent
On 21st day of June 1856.
W.Harry Surman for
Self & John Forbes & John Saltren Willett

Appendix 3: Monthly Singers' Salaries at the Royal Italian Opera, 1848-1855

Salaries: £ per month / number of months engaged.

Sources:
1848-49: The Times, 7 Sept 1849, bankruptcy proceedings against Edward Delafield; Gye Diaries
1850: Gye Diaries
1851-55: Gye Diaries; Coutts ledgers

NOTE: these lists do not represent full company rosters.

Sopranos	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855
Cruvelli							1460/1	
Grisi[1]	621/5	560/5	560/5	450/5	450/4	480/5	1250/2	960?
Medori						475/2		
Bosio					350/1	140/5	250/5	367/4
Castellan	346/5		200/6	230/5	250/5	200/5		
Steffanoni	300/2							
Ney								283/3
Hayes		260/5						
Dorus Gras		250/6						
Persiani	106/6	250/2						
Marai							130/5	160/4
Julienne					100/5	250/2		
Albini						135/1	150/1	
Baur								150/1
Zerr				105/1	125/4			
Rudersdorff								87/3
Corbari	86/5							
Bertrandi				69/4	60/5			
Vera			67/6					
Morra				36/3				

Mezzo-sopranos	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855
Viardot	1150/4	607/2		322/3			308/3	363/4
Alboni	667/6							
Tedesco						300/2		
Angri		500/5		180/5				
Ronconi[2]	160/3	160/3						
De Meric		125/4						
Didiée						38/4	70/5	75/4
Seguin					56/5			
Cotti[3]				20/5	20/5	25/5	12/5	

Appendix 3 continued

Tenors	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855
Roger	1790/1							
Guiemard					600/1			
Mario[4]	447/5	544/5	480/5	437/5	525/4	480/5	538/4	960?
Tamberlik[5]			400/5	274/5	333/5	366/5	510/5	480/4
Ander					400/4			
Negrini[6]					390/1			
Salvi	304/5	260/4						
Gardoni								266/4
Maralti			87/5	140/1				
Lucchesi						90/5	90/5	70/4
Galvani					67/3			
Mei				52/5	38/4	66/5		
Stigelli				46/5	36/5	75/4	106/4	
Albicini								40/3
Ciaffei				36/1				
Soldi				35/5	22/5	30/5	35/5	35/4

Baritones	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855
Ronconi[7]	560/2	560/2	400/4	567/3	128/5	250/5	270/5	400/2
Tamburini	340/5	340/5		580/3				
Corradi-Setti	293/3							
Graziani								120/4
Salvatori[8]				100/2				
Bartolini					71/4		75/2	

Basses[9]	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855
Lablache							250/4	333/3
Formes				194/5	214/4	184/5		163/4
Marini					160/5			
Belletti						167/3		
Tagliafico[10]				73/5	73/5	73/5	126/5	128/4
Massol			80/6					
Zelger						83/3	55/4	60/4
Bianchi				66/5				
Polonini				44/5	32/5	48/5	45/5	43/4
Rommi				18/5	7/5			
Susini							10/5	
Fortini							4/5	
Rache[11]				1?/5				

NOTES

[1]Grisi's nominal salary in 1850 was £2,800 (1 Sept 1850, 27 Jan 1851, Gye Diaries). The original 1851 contract was for six months at a total salary of £2240; the monthly average would accordingly have been £375 (27 Jan 1851, ibid.). The Royal Italian Opera season only lasted from April to August, but the 1851 Coutts ledger still records total payments of £2,250 to Grisi. These may include Grisi's share of one quarter of the profits. For Grisi's 1855 salary, see chapter two, p.106.

[2]Although Mde Ronconi's name was listed in the salary list for 1849, her name was not advertised for any productions; the monthly is average based on that of 1848.

[3]Only one payment of £20 is recorded in the 1852 Coutts ledger; most probably Cotti received £20 per month and the other payments were made in cash. Similarly, only one payment of £25 is recorded in the 1853 Coutts ledger.

[4]Mario's original 1851 contract was for six months at £1,920 (27 Jan 1851, Gye Travel Diary). The 1851 Coutts ledger records total payments to him of £2,185, which may include part of Mario's one quarter share of profits. For his 1855 salary, see chapter two, p.106.

[5]Tamberlik was probably engaged for six months at £2,000 in 1852, the last month of which was to include a number of performances at various autumn festivals (19 May 1852, Gye Diaries). The 1852 Coutts ledger only records payments totalling £970. In 1855, he was engaged for a total of five months at £2,400, 'the last month to be in the provinces' (20 Sept 1854, Gye Diaries).

[6]Negrini also received £20 in travel expenses (6 Sept 1852, Gye Diaries).

[7]It seems unlikely that Ronconi suffered such a severe paycut in 1852 as compared with previous seasons; most probably, further payments were made in cash.

[8]Salvatori was originally offered an engagement for six months at £1,200 or £1,000 for five months (27 Jan 1851, Gye Travel Diary). On arrival in London Salvatori soon became to hoarse to sing; 'Today I settled with Salvatori & broke his engagement by giving him £200 for April' (16 May 1851, Gye Diaries).

[9]Although a number of bass singers were engaged for the 1848 and 1849 seasons, no individual salaries for these artists were listed in the bankruptcy proceedings as published in The Times. The singers engaged were Polonini, Rache, Marini and Tagliafico in 1848 and 1849; Rè and Rommi joined the company in 1849.

[10]In 1853 payments were made to M. & Mde Tagliafico; £73 is an estimate of his salary alone.

[11]Rache performed throughout the 1851 season in minor parts; only one payment of £5 is noted in the Coutts ledgers, though he may have received more in cash.

Appendix 4: Repertory of the Theatre Royal Covent Garden, 1829-1843: by Number of Performances

To facilitate the analysis of the playhouse repertory at Covent Garden in chapter three it was necessary to develop basic guidelines for the classification of works, especially with regard to opera. As in France and Germany, opera in England evolved along two lines, that of through-composed works and the so-called semi-opera in which music and spoken dialogue are alternated. While the distinction between these two sub-genres is easily established, the differentiation between the 19th-century semi-operas, melodramas, masques and spectacles is far more complicated. Melodramas for example included much incidental music, as well as choruses and ensemble numbers; masques might incorporate opera excerpts and spectacles frequently contained songs and incidental music. Even full-length dramas regularly contained not only incidental music but also extensive parts for singers. Contemporary designations only provide limited assistance in determining precise categories. Bishop's Clari (1823) was billed as an opera, but his Home Sweet Home (1829) was labelled an 'operatic entertainment'; Rodwell's opera Paul Clifford was advertised as a 'musical drama', as was the 1835 adaptation of Auber's Le cheval bronze which transformed the original opéra-féerique into an only distantly related spectacle; and the 1842 production of Milton's 'masque' Comus included extensive sections from Purcell's King Arthur - the list could be extended almost indefinitely.

Despite such apparent confusion, a detailed examination of primary sources has allowed me to define three working categories for the playhouse repertory. Ballad operas, semi-operas, and through-composed operas should be considered as the main genres which constitute the opera

category. In their identification I have relied predominately on primary evidence from newspapers, playbills, libretti and music, but have also consulted the standard works by Roger Fiske, Eric Walter White and Allardyce Nicoll.[1] On rare occasions I have included works in this category which, though derived from a non-operatic genre, have been altered to such an extent that their inclusion seems justified; one of the most prominent examples is the above mentioned 1842 production of Comus. On the other hand, dramas 'interspersed with music' have been excluded from the opera category. I have also rejected White's approach of considering melodramas, such as Bishop's The Miller and his Men, as operas. Although these frequently contain a high level not only of incidental music but also of ensemble and choral numbers, they rarely contained solo numbers and were generally regarded as dramas with music rather than operas. The drama repertory accordingly includes not only tragedies, comedies and farces, but also the vast body of melodramas, burlettas, pantomimes, spectacles and interludes.[2] The third class is formed by the ballet, including both full-length works and short divertissements. Ballets incidental to operas have not been considered separately.

All following calculations concerning the repertory structure have been derived from a repertory calendar extrapolated from The Times and playbills. Although these sources in combination offer some degree of completeness, last minute cancellations and changes to programmes which cannot always be reconstructed leave some room for variance.

Appendix 4 continued

DRAMA

Main piece: S = tragedies, serious drama

C = comedies

Afterpiece: farce = farces, interludes, pantomimes, spectacles, short drama etc.

melo = melodrama

other = unidentified, but almost certainly only including farces etc.

OPERA: through-composed, ballad operas, semi-operas, but not plays with music/singing (main and afterpieces).

TOTAL: total number of nights / total number of performances.

Afterpieces: marked +.

	1829/30 Kemble	1830/31 Kemble	1831/32 Kemble	1832/33 Laporte	1833 Bunn/ Laporte
DRAMA					
S:	122	87	110	62	-
C:	28	72	18	57	1
farce:	151	166	131	165	11
melo:	27	47	44	1	-
other:	26	22	23	4	11
Total	150 + 204 = 354 (76%)	159 + 235 = 394 (83%)	128 + 198 = 326 (74%)	119 + 170 = 289 (76%)	1 + 22 = 23 (29%)
OPERA	43 + 56 = 99 (21%)	63 + 15 = 78 (16%)	72 + 44 = 116 (26%)	14 + 30 = 44 (12%)	38 + 4 = 42 (53%)
BALLET	+ 15 (3%)	+ 3 (1%)	+ 1 (0.2%)	+ 45 (12%)	+ 15 (19%)
TOTAL	193/468	222/475	200/443	133/378	39/80

Appendix 4 continued

	1833/34 Bunn	1834/35 Bunn	1835/36 Osbaldiston	1836/37 Osbaldiston
DRAMA S: C: farce: melo: other: Total	 13 12 137 25 19 25 + 181 = 206 (45%)	 73 9 99 37 30 82 + 166 = 248 (58%)	 114 44 141 12 37 158 + 190 = 345 (77%)	 194 19 200 2 53 213 + 257 = 470 (92%)
OPERA	160 + 13 = 173 (38%)	118 + 31 = 149 (35%)	90 + 11 = 101 (22%)	17 + 23 = 40 (8%)
BALLET	+ 78 (17%)	+ 31 (7%)	-	-
TOTAL	185/457	200/428	248/449	230/510

	1837/38 Macready	1838/39 Macready	1839/40 Vestris	1840/41 Vestris	1841/42 Vestris
DRAMA S: C: farce: melo: other: Total	 123 46 140 5 33 169 + 178 = 347 (72%)	 208 6 143 1 32 214 + 176 = 390 (79%)	 75 93 158 - 65 168 + 223 = 391 (84%)	 21 210 225 - 16 231 + 241 = 472 (93%)	 - 119 139 - 40 119 + 179 = 298 (67%)
OPERA	75 + 61 = 136 (28%)	9 + 94 = 103 (21%)	16 + 43 = 59 (13%)	5 + 30 = 35 (7%)	79 + 27 = 106 (24%)
BALLET	-	-	+ 14 (3%)	+ 1 (0.2%)	+38 (9%)
TOTAL	244/483	223/493	184/464	236/508	198/442

Appendix 4 continued

	1842 Kemble	1842/43 Bunn	1843 Wallack
DRAMA S: C: farce: melo: other: Total	 32 3 72 - 8 35 + 80 = 115 (60%)	 14 19 73 7 3 33 + 83 = 116 (52%)	 3 15 9 2 20 18 + 31 = 49 (88%)
OPERA	51 + 24 = 75 (39%)	70 + 14 = 84 (38%)	-
BALLET	+ 3 (2%)	+ 24 (11%)	+ 7 (13%)
TOTAL	86/193	103/224	18/56

NOTES

[1]R.Fiske, English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century, 2.edn. (Oxford: OUP, 1986); E.W.White, The Rise of English Opera (London: John Lehmann, 1951) and A History of English Opera (London: Faber and Faber, 1983); A.Nicoll, A History of English Drama, 1660-1900, iv:Early Nineteenth Century Drama, 1800-1850 (Cambridge: CUP, 1955).

[2]Within the confines of this study it has not been possible to identify conclusively all afterpieces. A small group of circa 25 works remains unidentified. Most of these were almost certainly interludes, farces or other short dramas; their exact category, however, has not been definitively established.

Appendix 5: Repertory of the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, 1829-1843:

Number of Opera Performances by Genre (afterpieces marked +)

	1829/30 Kemble	1830/31 Kemble	1831/32 Kemble	1832/33 Laporte	1833 Bunn/ Laporte
French	4 + 3 (7%)	-	30 + 3 (28%)	4 + 14 (41%)	3 + 3 (14%)
Italian	35 (35%)	28 (36%)	7 + 16 (20%)	5 + 1 (14%)	13 (31%)
English	4 + 53 (56%)	16 + 15 (40%)	33 + 25 (50%)	5 + 15 (45%)	2 + 1 (7%)
German	-	19 (24%)	2 (2%)	-	20 (48%)

	1833/34 Bunn	1834/35 Bunn	1835/36 Osbaldiston	1836/37 Osbaldiston
French	134 (77%)	74 + 15 (60%)	4 (4%)	-
Italian	6 (3%)	34 + 1 (23%)	-	-
English	5 + 13 (10%)	3 + 7 (7%)	86 + 11 (96%)	17 + 23 (100%)
German	15 (9%)	7 + 8 (10%)	-	-

	1837/38 Macready	1838/39 Macready	1839/40 Vestris	1840/41 Vestris	1841/42 Vestris
French	+ 27 (20%)	+ 33 (32%)	-	5 (14%)	+ 7 (7%)
Italian	7 (5%)	+ 12 (12%)	-	-	79 (75%)
English	68 + 34 (75%)	9 + 49 (56%)	16 + 43 (100%)	+ 30 (86%)	+ 20 (19%)
German	-	-	-	-	-

Appendix 5 continued

	1842 Kemble	1842/43 Bunn	1843 Wallack
French	+ 23 (31%)	22 + 12 (43%)	-
Italian	46 (61%)	35 (45%)	-
English	5 + 1 (8%)	7 + 2 (12%)	-
German	-	6 (7%)	-

Appendix 6: Repertory of the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, 1829-1843: Opera Premieres/Revivals

afterpieces marked +; F=French, I=Italian, E=English, G=German.

	1829/30 Kemble	1830/31 Kemble	1831/32 Kemble	1832/33 Laporte	1833 Bunn/ Laporte
Premiere	F:1 I:2 E:+2 G:-	F:- I:- E:- G:1	F:2 I:- E:- G:-	F:1 I:- E:1 G:-	F:1+1 I:2 E:- G:3
Revival	F:+1 I:3 E:1+5 G:-	F:- I:2 E:3+3 G:-	F:+1 I:2+2 E:8+12 G:1	F:+1 I:2+1 E:3+3 G:-	F:1 I:2 E:1+1 G:1

	1833/34 Bunn	1834/35 Bunn	1835/36 Osbaldiston	1836/37 Osbaldiston
Premiere	F:2 I:- E:- G:-	F:1 I:- E:1 G:-	F:1 I:- E:6+1 G:-	F:- I:- E:1 G:-
Revival	F:2 I:2 E:3+3 G:1	F:1+3 I:2+1 E:1+4 G:1+1	F:- I:- E:+3 G:-	F:- I:- E:3+3 G:-

	1837/38 Macready	1838/39 Macready	1839/40 Vestris	1840/41 Vestris	1841/42 Vestris
Premiere	F:+1 I:- E:2+2 G:-	F:+2 I:- E:1 G:-	F:- I:- E:1 G:-	F:- I:- E:+1 G:-	F:- I:2 E: G:-
Revival	F:+2 I:1 E:3+7 G:-	F:+1 I:+1 E:1+9 G:-	F:- I:- E:3+2 G:-	F:1 I:- E:+2 G:-	F:+1 I:2 E:+2 G:-

Appendix 6 continued

	1842 Kemble	1842/43 Bunn	1843 Wallack
Premiere	F:+1 I:2 E:- G:-	F:- I:1 E:- G:-	F:- I:- E:- G:-
Revival	F:+2 I:3 E:1+1 G:-	F:1+3 I:3 E:2+1 G:1	F:- I:- E:- G:-

Appendix 7: The Repertory of the Royal Italian Opera, 1847-1855: Number of Operas / Proportion of Total Performances

All figures record firstly, the number of operas by individual composers and secondly, the proportion of their performance frequency within the total number of performances during any one season.

Italian composers: all figures pertain to Italian works, unless otherwise marked, ie. Fr=French operas.
Mozart: all figures pertain to his Italian works, unless otherwise marked, ie. G=German operas.
Sources: Based on a repertory calendar which I compiled principally from daily newspapers and playbills.

	1847	1848	1849	1850
Rossini	5 / 33%	7 / 35% It=6/33% Fr=1/1%	3 / 11%	6 / 17% It=5/12% Fr=1/6%
Bellini	3 / 15%	4 / 19%	2 / 5%	1 / 4%
Donizetti	5 / 28%	4 / 24% It=3/18% Fr=1/6%	3 / 20%	2 / 9%
Verdi	2 / 8%	-	-	1 / 1%
other Italian	-	-	1 / 3%	-
Meyerbeer	-	1 / 14%	3 / 38%	3 / 42%
other French	-	-	1 / 13%	2 / 12%
Mozart	2 / 16%	2 / 8%	2 / 11%	1 / 6%
Weber	-	-	-	1 / 9%
Beethoven	-	-	-	-

Appendix 7 continued

	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855
Rossini	3 / 13%	3 / 7% It=2/3% Fr=1/4%	3 / 17% It=2/5% Fr=1/13%	5 / 22% It=3/13% Fr=2/9%	3 / 17% It=2/7% Fr=3/10%
Bellini	2 / 11%	3 / 12%	2 / 11%	2 / 12%	2 / 9%
Donizetti	3 / 10% It=2/6% Fr=1/3%	6 / 25% It=5/16% Fr=1/9%	4 / 27% It=3/19% Fr=1/8%	4 / 28% It=3/22% Fr=1/6%	4 / 19% It=3/12% Fr=1/7%
Verdi	-	1 / 1%	2 / 11%	2 / 10%	2 / 21%
other Italian	-	-	-	1 / 6%	-
Meyerbeer	3 / 37%	3 / 33%	3 / 25%	2 / 13%	3 / 26%
other French	2 / 8%	2 / 9%	2 / 5%	-	-
Mozart	2 / 17% It=1/10% G=1/8%	2 / 6% It=1/1% G=1/4%	1 / 2%	1 / 4%	1 / 3%
Weber	1 / 2%	-	-	-	-
Beethoven	1 / 3%	-	-	1 / 4%	1 / 5%
Spohr	-	1 / 6%	1 / 3%	-	-

Appendix 8a: First performances in England, at the Royal Italian Opera, 1847-1855

This table documents first performances in England by the resident opera company and omits performances of operas by foreign touring companies.

(*) = first Italian performance in England.

Title	Composer	Place/ Premiere	Royal Italian Opera
Maria di Rohan	Donizetti	Kärntnertortheater, Vienna, 5 June 1843 rev. Nov 1843, Théâtre Italien	8 May 1847
Les Huguenots	Meyerbeer	Opéra, 29 Feb 1836	20 July 1848
Le prophète	Meyerbeer	Opéra, 16 April 1849	24 July 1849
La muette di Portici	Auber	Opéra, 29 Feb 1828	15 March 1849 (*)
La juive	Halévy	Opéra, 23 Feb 1835	25 July 1850
Moïse et Pharaon	Rossini	Opéra, 26 March 1827	20 April 1850
Sapho	Gounod	Opéra, 16 April 1851	9 Aug 1851
Les martyrs	Donizetti	Opéra, 10 April 1840	20 April 1852
Faust	Spohr	Estates Theatre, Prague 1 Sept 1816	15 July 1852 (rev.)
Jessonda	Spohr	Hoftheater, Kassel, 28 July 1823	6 Aug 1853
Rigoletto	Verdi	La Fenice, 11 March 1851	13 May 1853
Benvenuto Cellini	Berlioz	Opéra, 10 Sept 1838 rev. Weimar, Grossherzogliches Hoftheater, 20 March / 17 Nov 1852	25 June 1853
Il trovatore	Verdi	Teatro Apollo, Rome, 19 Jan 1853	10 May 1855
L'étoile du nord	Meyerbeer	Opéra-Comique, 16 Feb 1854	19 July 1855

Appendix 8b: First performances in England, at Her Majesty's, 1847-1855

This table documents first performances in England by the resident opera company and omits performances of operas by foreign touring companies.

(*) = first Italian performance in England.

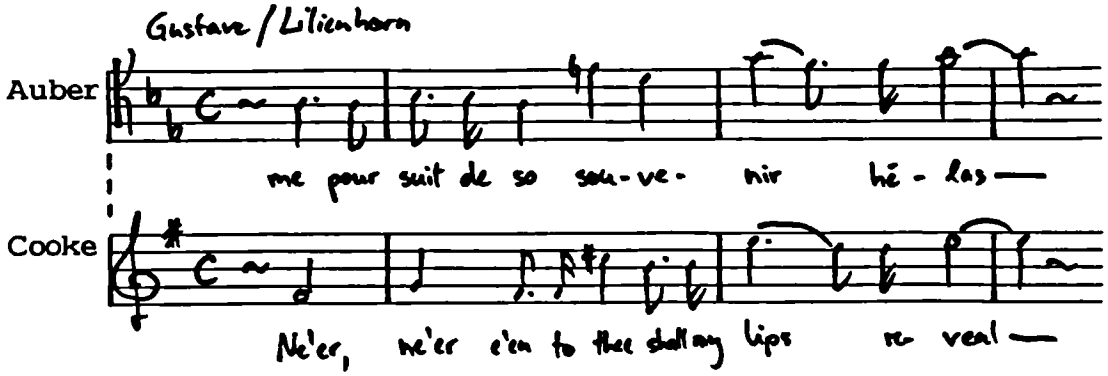
Title	Composer	Place/Premiere	Her Majesty's
I due Foscari	Verdi	Teatro Argentina, Rome, 3 Nov 1844	13 April 1847
I Lombardi	Verdi	La Scala, 11 Feb 1843	6 July 1847
Robert le diable	Meyerbeer	Opéra, 21 Nov 1831	4 May 1847
La favorite	Donizetti	Opéra, 2 Dec 1840	16 Feb 1847 (*)
La fille du régiment	Donizetti	Opéra-Comique, 11 Feb 1840 rev. La Scala, 3 Oct 1840	27 May 1847
Attila	Verdi	La Fenice, 17 March 1846	14 March 1848
L'enfant prodigue	Auber	Opéra, 6 Dec 1850	12 June 1851
La corbeille d'oranges	Auber	Opéra, 16 May 1851	22 July 1851
Casilda	Saxe Coburg & Gotha	Gotha, 23 March 1851	5 Aug 1852

Music Examples

Example 1: Gustavus the Third, no.2, air

"O vous qui consolez mon coeur!", Gustave ou le Bal masqué... Représenté pour la première fois sur le Théâtre de l'Academie Royale de Musique, 3 vols (Paris: E.Troupenas, [1835?])

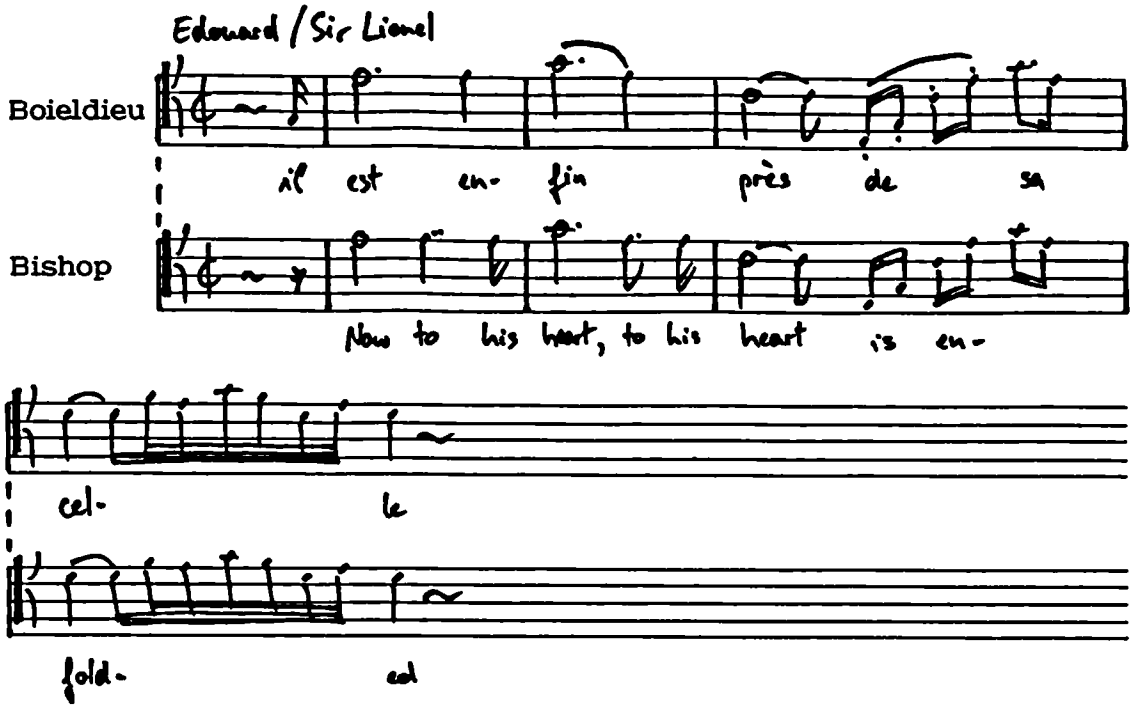
"I love her! How I love her!", The Admired Song as Sung by Mr Templeton... 2.edn. (London: D'Almaine & Co, [1833?])



Example 2: The Night before the Wedding and the Wedding Night (Les deux nuits), no.12, romance, 3. verse

"Dans les beaux vallons de Clarence", Les deux nuits... Représenté sur le Théâtre Royal de l'Opéra Comique (Paris: Janet et Cotelle, 1829)

"Pensive, mid the vales of Florence", The Night before the Wedding; and The Wedding Night..., autograph, BL.Add.27,725



Example 3: La Donna del lago, no.5, duettino

"Vivere io non potrò", Edizione Critica delle Opere di Gioachino Rossini, Sezione Prima, Opere Teatrali, xxix: La Donna del Lago, ed. H.Colin Slim, 4 vols (Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini Pesaro, 1990)

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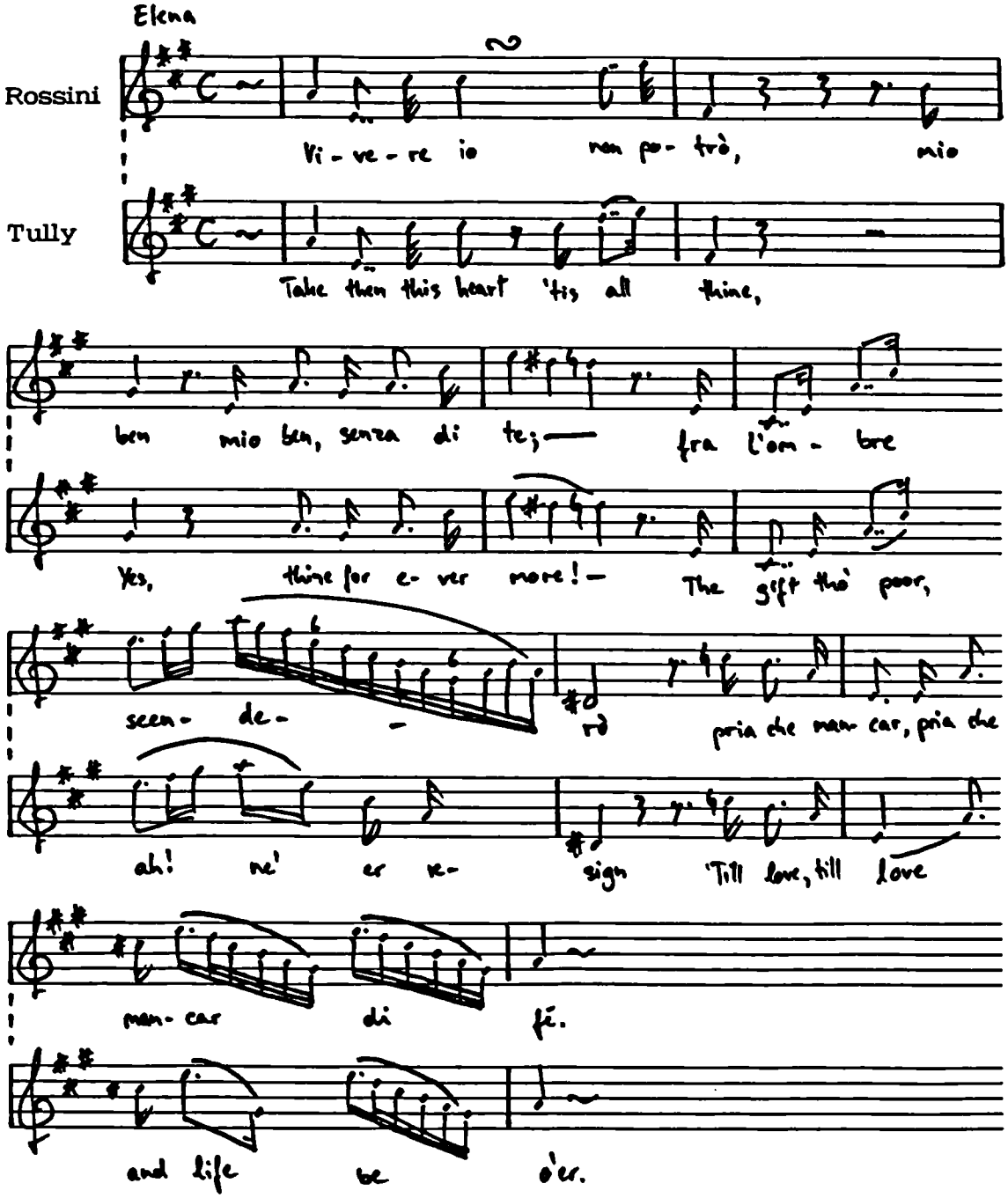

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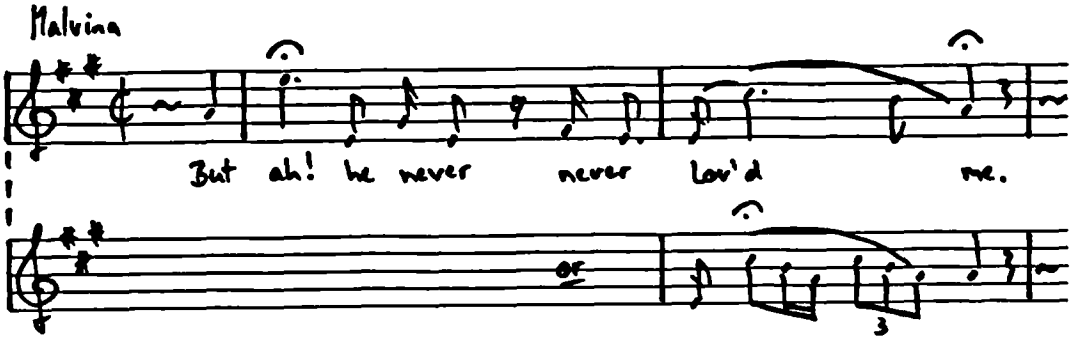
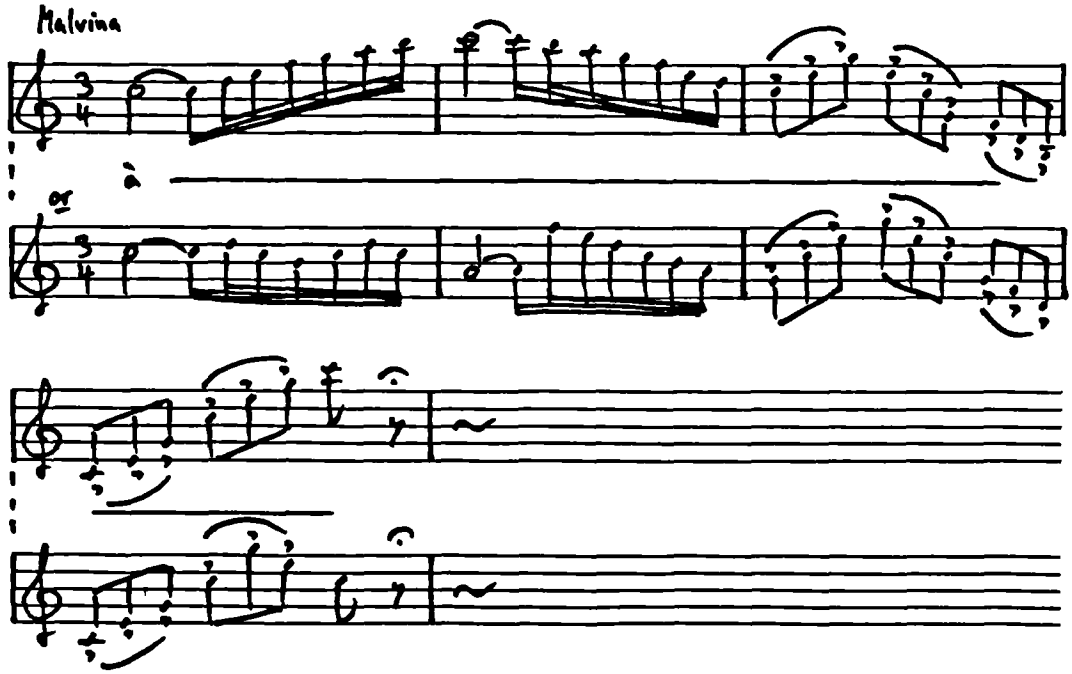
"Regret no more shall rend my heart", The Night before the Wedding; and The Wedding Night..., autograph, BL.Add.27,725



"Why those looks?" The Night before the Wedding; and The Wedding Night..., autograph, BL.Add.27,725



Example 5: Les Huguenots, no.23, ensemble

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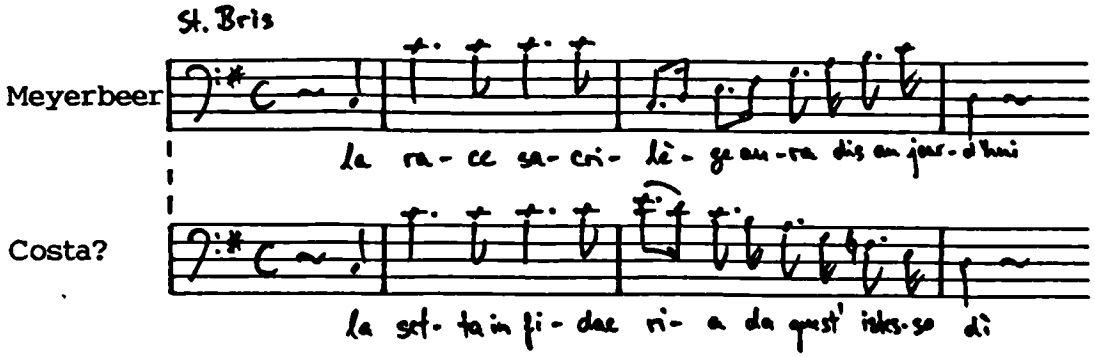
congiura e benedizione de'pugnali, Gli Ugonotti...messe in Italiano da Manfredo Maggioni... per la prima volta rappresentata al Regio Teatro Italiano, Covent Garden (London: R.Addison & Co, [1848?])



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